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The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company

BEING
CURIOUS REMINISCENCES
DURING THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY
FROM 1600 TO 1858

Compiled from newspapers and other publications

By
W. H. CAREY

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*In Memory
of
The Departed Jawans*

P R E F A C E

The contents of the following pages are the result of researches of several years, through files of old newspapers and hundreds of volumes of scarce works on India. Some of the authorities we have acknowledged in the progress of the work ; others, to which we have been indebted for information we shall here enumerate ; apologizing to such as we may have unintentionally omitted : —

Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes ; Calcutta Review ; Orlich's Jacquemont's ; Mackintosh's Travels ; Long's Selections ; Calcutta Gazettes and other Calcutta papers ; Kaye's Civil Administration ; Wheeler's Early Records ; Malleeson's Recreations ; East India United Service Journal ; Asiatic Researches and Asiatic Journal ; Knight's Calcutta ; Lewis's Memoirs of Thomas ; Orme's History of India.

We do not aspire to be historians, we simply profess to lay before our readers some curious reminiscences illustrating the manners and customs of the people of Calcutta during the rule of the East India Company.

Our scenes are laid principally in Calcutta, but we have occasionally travelled up-country that we might exhibit life in the mofussil, and in some few instances we have given notices of occurrences in the other presidencies.

Our residence during the time that we have been employed in this compilation, having been far removed from the Metropolis, and our access to newspapers and publications in consequence limited, we have been able to note only a few of the events of the times alluded to. But these notes will afford both amusement and instruction, showing as they do how rapidly improvement and progress have been going on, both in the condition and lives of the English in India, and we may add especially of the natives also, during the Government of the East India Company between the years 1600 and 1858.

The work was first taken up as amusement during the leisure hour, but in the course of our reading, so many interesting records came under notice that it occurred to us, that the present generation might take an equal interest with ourselves in a narrative of events which happened during the two centuries alluded to in Calcutta and India generally.

Like another Herculaneum that had been buried for ages and afterwards exposed to view to a race unborn at the time of its entombment, the habits and amusements of people which had passed away from the face of the earth are reproduced in the pages we now present to the reader. We seem here to live again among those who were contemporaneous with our great grandfathers, and we can in imagination see a little into their customs and habits, so old fashioned in our eyes as to rise a smile of contempt or ridicule. We see Calcutta before it possessed a single building of magnificence or even of importance, and when the Honorable Company of merchants were only in their infancy and ruled the country with a jealous eye and iron hand. The Press was gagged and unable to offer an independent opinion. Adventurers were not allowed to land without a permit from the Honorable Court in Leadenhall Street ; and those who had licences were not permitted to go more than ten miles distant from Calcutta, without another permit.

We now present the result of our labors to an appreciating public.

SIMLA
January, 1882

W. H. CAREY

EDITOR'S NOTE

The Good Old Days Of Honorable John Company by W. H. Carey may not be a great book, but it is a good book by all manner and means.

The author showed extraordinary diligence and zeal in collecting materials from various sources named and acknowledged in his illuminative preface.

Though the present day reader may not see eye to eye with Carey in his presentation of some *historical incidents*, myths of which have since been exploded, and though in course of his marshalling of facts and arguments he sometimes wrote, perhaps unwittingly, with an air of superiority, yet it can safely be said that he had never been found guilty of wilful distortion or of *schadenfreude*. If his remarks about the Indian people at times were rather uncharitable, he did not spare his own countrymen either. And it should not be forgotten that Carey was in this country at the most decadent period of its history ; Bengal was of course on the threshold of the *Great Renaissance* during his time, but Carey had not possibly had the opportunity to see the result of its full impact.

Many a modern Bengali scribe is indebted to Carey for opening the hidden gate of a rich treasure-house wherefrom the writer could take away valuable materials with impunity to write his *belles-lettress* on Calcutta.

Written more than eighty years ago *Good Old Days* overwhelms us at the amazingly wide range of vocabulary which its author possessed ; the style is breezy and succulent throughout ; it is *King's English* at its best.

In the present edition we have omitted some chapters which appear to have lost their import with the passage of eight decades,—retaining all the essential and important topics. The original text with its quaint spelling of proper

names and places (perhaps prevalent in those days) has been kept untouched, save some *must* modifications here and there.

We shall consider our efforts amply rewarded if *Good Old Days*, salvaged from the depth of oblivion, is able to entertain the discerning reader with an hour or two of pleasurable reading.

November 14, 1964

A. N. M.

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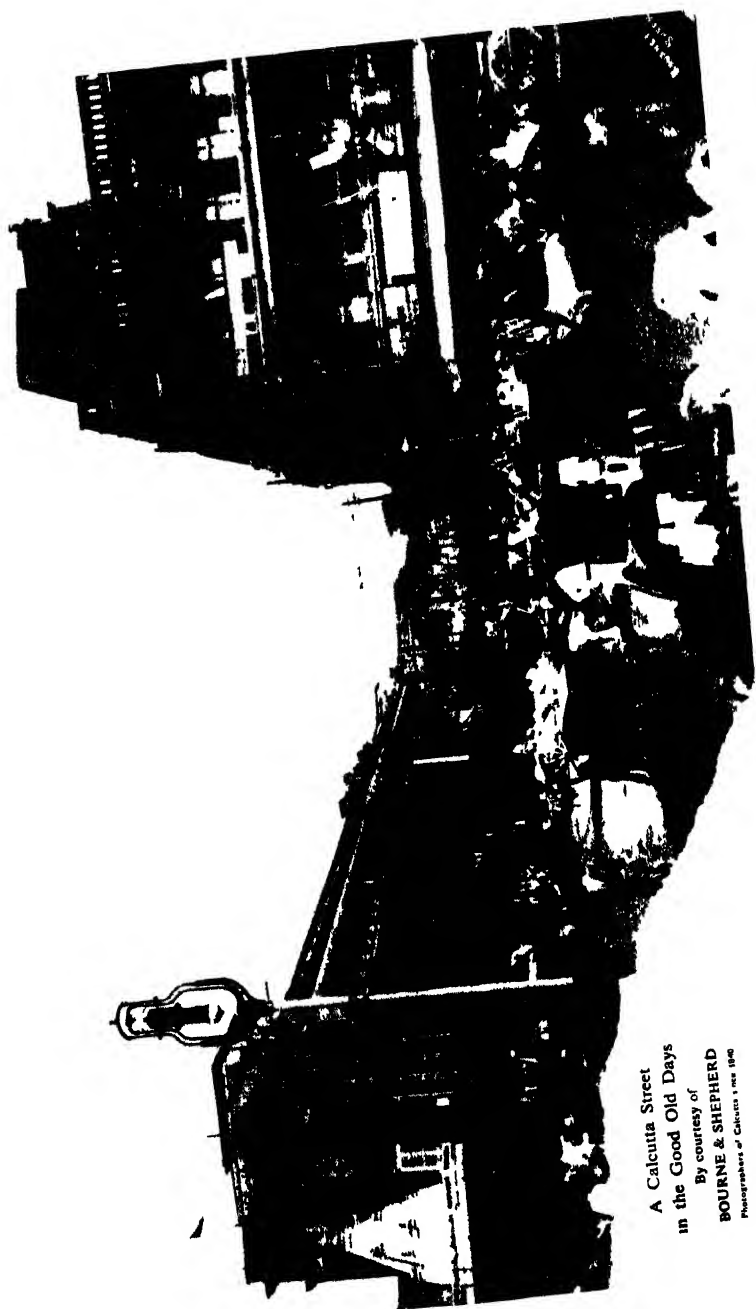
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**THE GOOD OLD DAYS OF
HONORABLE JOHN COMPANY
1600 TO 1858**



A Calcutta Street
in the Good Old Days
By courtesy of
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Photographers of Calcutta since 1840

The
Good Old Days
of
Honorable John Company

CHAPTER I

FIRST EUROPEAN SETTLERS IN THE EAST

LOOKED at from a chronological point of view the earliest historical record we have of Europeans in the East is dated B. C. 550, when Scylax is said to have first visited India. He was sent by Darius to explore the Indus, and published an account of his journey, which related to his Greek countrymen many astonishing tales of a traveller. Herodotus, in his short account of India, followed Scylax as an authority. But it was not until the expedition of Alexander (327 B. C.) that a body of able observers, trained in the school of Aristotle, were enabled to give accurate ideas to Europe of the condition of India. Of these writers, Megasthenes is by far the most important. He lived at the court of Chandragupta, and probably passed some years in India. According to him, the Indian state to which he was accredited, the military force of which consisted of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry and 9,000 elephants, was better organized and displayed more wisdom in internal government and police arrangements than any country in Europe could boast of.

Long before the first English traders landed, the Portuguese had settled in India.

Vasco de Gama was the first to brave the stormy passage round that Cape, which had baffled so many previous attempts, and which had then been called the Cape of Storms; and on the 22nd May in 1498, with a handful of equally daring companions, he set foot in Calicut.

Of Calicut, where the Zamorin, the successor of the Tamari Rajahs, once lived in regal splendour, but few traces of its old magnificence are now left. The once capacious haven has been drifted up by sand. Its great Brahminical monastery is in ruins : and to the traveller viewing it from the point from which it had first been seen by the followers of Vasco, nothing is discernible beyond a few lines of huts shaded by coconut or palmyra trees. Twelve years later the forces of Albuquerque plundered the town and burnt the palace of its kings.

By a series of bold exploits the Portuguese had extended their settlements from the Coast of Malabar to the Persian Gulf ; and a century had not elapsed, when they had achieved fresh conquests, had explored the Indian Ocean as far as Japan, and had astonished Europe with the story of gigantic fortunes rapidly amassed. It was not long after, that the example thus set by Portugal was followed by the other European states ; and English, Danish, and French factories rose alongside of the factories built by the Portuguese.

The first European factory established in India was formed by the Portuguese at Calicut under Pedro Alvarez Cabral, in 1500. The first European fortress was also erected in that place by the same nation, commanded by the famous Alphonso de Albuquerque three years afterwards, or in 1503.

Goa, on the Malabar Coast, was captured by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in 1506. The strong fortress on the island of Diu was built by the Portuguese in 1535. It sustained two memorable sieges in 1537-38 and 1546, respectively, but was captured by the Arabs in 1668, when the Portuguese power in India had already begun to decline.

In 1530 the Portuguese captured the town of Surat.

For more than a hundred years after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama, the profitable traffic of the Indian seas was monopolised by the Portuguese. Other nations being too weak to dispute their pretensions to oceanic sovereignty were compelled to purchase Indian merchandize at Lisbon, which city consequently soon be-

came one of the richest and most populous of European capitals.

When, however, the Spaniards discovered another passage to India by the Straits of Magellan, they claimed the special sovereignty of the new sea road and endeavoured to prevent ships of all other nations from floating on those waters. So strong was their opposition for a time that the English endeavoured to discover a new road for themselves by way of a north-eastern, a north-western or even a northern passage directly over the pole, to India.

War broke out between the Portuguese and Dutch at the end of the sixteenth century, in which the latter proved the stronger, and supplanted the Portuguese in their Indian trade and chief settlements.

The Dutch, while subject to Spain, contented themselves with purchasing Indian merchandize at Lisbon. But upon the revolt of the Netherlands and the creation of the United Provinces, they determined upon wresting from their former masters the profits arising from the Indian trade.

In 1580 the Spanish and Portuguese dominions were united under the Spanish crown, and the Dutch were excluded from all trade with Lisbon, and their ships confiscated, and owners imprisoned. One of the captains, while in prison, obtained from some Portuguese sailors a full account of the Indian seas, and on his return home so stirred the hearts of his countrymen by relating what he had heard, that they immediately fitted out eight vessels for the East ; four fully armed were to sail round the Cape of Good Hope and the rest were to attempt the north-eastern passage. The latter merely discovered Nova Zembla ; the former reached Java, and notwithstanding the most strenuous opposition offered by the Portuguese then established at Bantam, managed to open up trade with the East. In 1598 four separate fleets were fitted out for the East, and from this time the Dutch seem to have firmly established themselves in the East Indies.

They were scattered all over this country early in the seventeenth century, and Bernier, writing from Delhi, under date the 1st July 1663, says : "The Dutch have a malt

factory in Agra, in which they generally keep four or five persons ;" and further on he mentions "the Dutch establishments at Bengal, Patna, Surat or Ahmedabad."

In 1752 the Dutch had a factory at Baranagar, situated about five miles to the north of Calcutta, which was considered as an Indian Wapping ; soldiers deserting and sailors leaving English vessels, were accustomed to escape to this settlement, where under the Dutch flag they were safe from arrest.

CHAPTER II

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMPANY IN INDIA

OF the many changes which have taken place in India, none have been fraught with so many great results as that which has placed under British rule the teeming populations of this great empire, the race of the builders of Ellora, and the rock-excavated temples of Elephanta and Mahavellipore, and the heirs of the great Mogul.

The history of India during that early period, when the first intercourse of the British nation with India commenced, must always be interesting. We shall endeavour, therefore, to record those events—half political, half commercial—which ended in the establishment of the first Company on a durable basis.

At no period of British history had the love of maritime enterprise been so great. The spirit of commerce, once fairly roused, began rapidly to develop itself. Trading companies were formed. The successes of Cabot, of Vasco de Gama, and Albuquerque, had fired the imagination, and excited the cupidity, of the English nation. Private gentlemen offered to accompany the expeditions then manned as volunteers. English nobles mortgaged their estates, and sold their plate to equip small fleets of their own.

So early as the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, efforts were made to reach India by a north-eastern passage. Thorne, an English merchant, who had lived nearly all his life in Seville, returned to lay his project of a north-west passage before Henry VIII. The great object was then, if possible, to effect a passage to India by a route which would enable the English to trade with India without giving umbrage to the Portuguese. Sir Hugh Willoughby endeavoured to discover a passage to the East Indies, and sailed to Norway, but was met with a storm so severe at the North Cape, that his boldest mariners quailed, and with his entire crew was wrecked off the shores of Lapland. Martin Frobisher manned a pinnance and two boats, and ardently

endeavoured to discover a passage by steering north-west through Hudson's Bay. A few years later, Captain Davis with greater success sailed further north, and gave his name to the straits which he had discovered. Most of the voyages had been unsuccessful ; but the hopes once entertained of reaching India by sailing west were never abandoned, and were at a later period destined to meet with success.

Two events tended to hasten the formation of a Company for India. One was the memorable voyage of Sir Francis Drake from Plymouth to Java, by the Pacific Ocean ; the other was the equally successful voyage, by the same route, of Thomas Cavendish.

Both Francis Drake and Cavendish made the voyage round the world ; both had proved themselves to be naval commanders of no ordinary type. But to Sir Francis Drake must undoubtedly belong the honor of having been the first Englishman, and the first British naval commander, who had succeeded in making that remarkable voyage.

The son of a clergyman, Francis Drake early evinced his love of daring adventure. In 1567 he sailed with his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, to the Bay of Mexico. Three years later, he commanded an expedition to the West Indies. Subsequently we read of him sacking the town of Nombre de Dios. It was then he fancied he discovered, from an elevation on some high range of hills, glimpses of that great ocean which divided India from America. He returned to obtain the royal permission to equip a fleet and lead an expedition which would, for boldness of design, have vied with that of Magellan. After cruising about the western coasts of America, and after having taken much plunder, he left America to sail across that apparently illimitable ocean on which but one ship had as yet ventured.

The passage was a fortunate one. Land was at last reached. The intrepid sailor landed, and learnt that the island was called Ternate, one of the group of the Moluccas. In this visit was laid the foundation of the commercial intercourse from which influences so vast should subsequently spring. Drake was received by the king with pleasure. He was shown over the island, introduced to the court, invited to the palace.

At the time when Drake's vessel anchored at Ternate, the sovereign of that island was at enmity with the Portuguese, who had settlements in Java, and who had already been established between them and the islanders of Malaysia, or the Malayan Archipelago. This island, the most valuable of the Malacca group, was then governed by a king who ruled also over seventy other islands. Those islands were then, as they are now, famed for their trade in cinnamon, cloves, ivory, and horns.

Sailing southwards, Drake's attention was attracted by a chain of hills on one of the adjacent islands ; and landing, he was struck with the wondrous fertility of the island of Java. Java had not yet attained to the celebrity it subsequently did as a model Dutch settlement.

As at Ternate, the palms and cocoanuts, the thick vegetation, and the tropical foliage, added to the interest of the scene ; and prolonging his stay for a few days, Drake set sail steering for that passage by the Cape, then exclusively claimed by the Portuguese, but which subsequently was destined, for nearly half a century, to be the high road of the commerce between the East and the West.

The crew of the vessel commanded by Drake found that the navigation of the Cape of Good Hope was not so dangerous, the seas round the Cape not so tempestuous, as they had imagined ; and after a voyage, which was protracted over a space of two years and ten months, they had the good fortune of anchoring safely in Plymouth Sound.

If the expedition of Sir Francis Drake was successful, that of Thomas Cavendish to the East Indies was not less so. On the 21st July 1586, he set sail for the East with three vessels. He crossed the Atlantic, committed some depredations on the American coast, captured a rich Spanish frigate, visited the islands of the Indian Archipelago, touched at one of the Ladrone Islands and at Java, and after effecting an exchange trade with the natives of those islands, returned by the Cape to England, and anchored at Plymouth.

The results of these two expeditions fired the genius of the English nation, and led to the coalition of the company of merchant adventurers who first undertook to lay

the scheme before the public of trading on an extensive scale with India.

On the last day of the 16th century, the London East India Company was formed at the house of Alderman Goddard, or Founders' Hall, where the parties assembled determined upon measures to equip certain vessels "upon a purely mercantile bottom."

Some four or five years before the death of Akbar Queen Elizabeth granted a charter with certain privileges to a company of London merchants, just at the time that the Dutch East India Company was established, whose first attempt to trade on the Malabar Coast was nearly coincident with the arrival of the London Company's first ships at Surat.

The privileges conceded to the London Company enabled them to purchase lands without limitations, and to have a monopoly of trade for fifteen years with the East Indies.

In the year 1600, the consent of the Government was obtained to equip a fleet of five ships for an Indian voyage. Captain James Lancaster commanded the fleet; and thirty-six factors, on salaries varying with their different trusts, accompanied it. On the 2nd of May, 1601, the vessels set sail from Torbay. After a prosperous voyage they landed at Acheen in Sumatra. The natives were tractable, and readily entered into a treaty of commerce; and for such articles or implements of iron ware as Lancaster's crew had with them, they offered in exchange those natural products of their island—pepper and benzoin, cassia and camphor, aloes, spices and fruits. Amicable arrangements having been concluded, the vessels set sail for Java.

Captain Lancaster leaving an agent behind, returned in 1603 to England, after making a considerable percentage of profits for his employers, the East India Company of adventurers.

In the year 1600 John Maidenhall, a merchant, was deputed to the court of Akbar. No records are left of the results of that embassy beyond the fact that he obtained a firman, was well received at court, and that he returned in a few years to England, but that subsequently revisiting India he died at Agra.

It was during the reign of Jehangeer, that two missions were sent from England to his court: the first by the East India Company, conducted by Captain Hawkins, for the purpose of opening up a commercial intercourse with India; the second by the celebrated Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador from King James I. Hawkins after much difficulty arrived at Agra on the 16th April 1609, and being able to speak Turkish was most favourable received by the Emperor, who subsequently insisted on his marrying a young Armenian lady. He succeeded in obtaining the royal promise for an unlimited extension of the English trade; but being opposed by a violent party, the Jesuits, then possessed of great influence at the Mogul court, was at the end of two and-a-half years obliged to quit Agra, without having effected any of the objects of his mission.

The only advantage resulting from Hawkins' voyage was the promise alluded to respecting the establishment of a factory at Surat on the Bombay coast.

The establishment of the factory at Surat was eventually effected by a daring mariner named Best, who despite the impediment and resistance offered him by the Portuguese, boldly proceeded in 1611 to the promised settlement; upon which the Emperor gave a firman that provided for the residence of an English plenipotentiary at Surat, and an authority for his countrymen to trade fully, openly and without impediment.

Best, being as shrewd as he was determined, well knew that this concession was produced more through fear than any other cause, and therefore determined to avail himself of so favorable an opportunity, and demanded and obtained a ceremonious acknowledgment of his rights from the native authorities. He thereupon established the long desired factory; and having accomplished this returned home in 1613, having laid the foundation of a sure and profitable trade.

The first impressions of Surat were not calculated to impress the English favorably with the wealth and the civilisation of India. Nearly half a century later, Tavernier, in that pleasant and graphic style which makes his travels so readable and interesting, described Surat as "a

town with a wretched fort, with dwellings built of mud which resemble barns, shut in by reeds dabbled with wattle and mud." A century later, in manufacturing and commercial prosperity it rivalled Bombay, when Bombay had not yet attained to political or maritime importance.

Best was ably succeeded by Captain Downton, who upon his arrival at Surat in 1615, found but three factors, as they were then termed, who had been appointed by his predecessor; intrigue or interest had caused the dispersion of the remainder. Downton's measures produced much animosity towards him from European interests, and considerable native injustice. These, coupled with the unhealthiness of the climate, caused his death in the ensuing August. He was a vigorous and talented man, and perfected the arrangement connected with the factory, or as it was then termed "the English house," which he placed under the management of a head factor named Kerridge.

A curious illustration of the rapid growth of an Indian town might be found in the rise of Surat. In 1530, when the Portuguese had first captured the town, its population was estimated at 10,000 only. In 1538, that population had increased to 133,544.

In the year 1557, so greatly had the town increased in importance, that the East India Company ordered that the administration of all its possessions should be placed under the direct control of the president and council of Surat.

Until 1614 all transactions with native powers had been carried on by the Company's agent, but it was now resolved to try the effect of a royal mission, and Sir Thomas Roe was deputed as ambassador to the court of the Emperor Jehangeer. He sailed from Gravesend on the 6th March 1615, and arrived at Surat on the 26th of September. Thence he proceeded to Boorhanpore, where he was graciously received by the governor of the province. After a short residence with that prince, Sir Thomas advanced to the royal residence at Ajmere. He reached that city on the 23rd December, but did not obtain an audience of the monarch till the 10th January, 1616.

The object of this embassy was twofold: (1) to arrange a definite treaty; and (2) to recover a large amount of

money alleged to be owing by the courtiers and ministers of the Emperor.

On delivering the royal letter sent by the English sovereign, the Mogul Emperor received Sir Thomas Roe with as much consideration as it was in his nature to bestow on any ambassador ; he offered to redress some of the grievances complained of, and ratified a treaty by which he conceded to the English nation the right to establish factories and to trade with any part of the Mogul empire, Surat and Bengal especially.

At his court Sir Thomas remained four years, and after successfully overcoming many impediments thrown in his way, he returned, having recovered all bribes, extortions and debts, from the courtiers and ministers of the court, and further obtained permission to establish another factory at Baroach.

The curious and interesting account left by him of the court and camp of the Great Mogul, forms one of the most important accessions to works on oriental literature and oriental politics. During his residence in the East, he made some valuable collections of ancient manuscripts.

The vessel that conveyed Roe to his destination, was commanded by a "General" Keeling, who endeavoured to found a factory at Cranganore, but failed in his efforts, the factors availing themselves of the first favorable opportunity of escaping with their property to Calicut, where was established the factory, whose looms soon obtained an European celebrity, and which they retained, until British skill and capital removed the seat of manufacture from India to Manchester.

The feeling of jealousy engendered by the concession alluded to above on the part of the Mogul Emperor, was not allowed to remain long dormant. Open hostilities were soon commenced by the Portuguese, whose fleet burnt the town of Baroach. Another fleet commanded by the Portuguese Viceroy in person anchored off Swally. The naval engagements which followed, proved disastrous to the prestige which the Portuguese had already acquired ; and the Mogul court, without offering any interference, looked with pleasure on the checks thus given to an enemy whose

encroachments, and whose power they had alike learnt to view with anxiety, if not with dismay.

For several years after Best, Downton and Roe, we have no authentic documents upon which reliance can be placed ; but this much is certain, that debauchery and speculation of the most flagrant character usurped the place of good government in Surat. The oldest despatch of the factory is dated July 26th, and it affords little information ; but from other sources we learn that the Company's agents were then negotiating with the Emperor of Golconda for an extension of their trade to Hindostan. Surat at this period had become a position of considerable importance, and was destined to be the point of radiation, whence the commercial spirit of Britain should thrust forward its then infantine powers.

About the year 1636, Methwold, who was president at Surat, returned to England, and was succeeded by Fremlin, and the latter by Francis Benton, whose monument in the cemetery at Surat bears testimony to his exertions, and declares, that "for five years he discharged his duties with the greatest diligence and strictest integrity." Then followed Captain Jeremy Blackman, whose appointment is dated 1651.

Dr. Fryer, a surgeon in the Company's service, visited Surat in 1674, when the English factories were in their zenith. The factors lived in spacious houses and in great style. The salary of the president, according to Fryer, was "£500 a year, half paid here, the other half reserved to be received at home, in case of misdemeanor to make satisfaction, beside a bond of £5,000 sterling of good securities. The accountant has £72 per annum, £50 paid here, the other at home. All the rest are half paid here, half at home, except the writers, who have all been paid here."

Surat was governed by a Company's "agent" till the restoration of Charles II when a president was sent out. At this time the Surat Government employed "forty sail of stout ships to and from all parts where they trade out and home ; manning and maintaining their island Bombay, Fort St. George and St. Helens." The last agent at Surat was named Rivinton ; he was succeeded by President

Wynch, who lived only two years, and was succeeded by Andrews, who resigning, Sir George Oxendine took his place, and continued to hold the office till his death. It was during his presidentship that Sivajee plundered Surat. He was succeeded by the Hon'ble Gerald Aungier, who fought against Sivajee and repulsed him.

In 1615 a piece of ground was obtained at Armegaun, from the Naik or local chief, and a factory built thereon, which in 1628 was described as being defended by "twelve pieces of cannon and twenty-eight factors and soldiers."

The English having a valuable trade on the Coromandel Coast, were desirous of obtaining a territory which they could fortify. After several ineffectual attempts to obtain such land from the Moguls, they at length succeeded in buying a piece from a Hindu prince, the Rajah of Chandra-geeri, which was afterwards called Madras. This was in 1639. For the strip of land (six miles long and one mile wide) the English paid an annual rent of £600. There was a small island in the strip facing the sea ; this was fortified by a wall and fortress, to secure the residents against the predatory attacks of native horsemen. In granting the land to the English the Rajah expressly stipulated that the English town should be called after him, Sri Ranga Rajapatanam. The grant was engraven on a plate of gold. The English kept the plate for more than a century ; it was lost in 1746 at the capture of Madras by the French. On the Naik of Chingleput coming into power, he ordered that the town should be called China-patanam ; this name the English afterwards changed to Madras.

In 1653 Madras was raised to the rank of a presidency.

Little or nothing is known of Madras in those early days previous to 1670. In 1672, however, we find Madras was an important place. The government was carried on in the same way as at Surat. The governor drew a yearly salary of £300 ; the second in council £100 ; the third £70 ; and the fourth only £50. Factors were paid between £20 and £40. Writers received only £10, and apprentices £5. But all were lodged and boarded at the expense of the Company. Sir William Langhorn was governor of Madras from 1670 to 1677, and when he retired, he was succeeded

by a gentleman named Streynsham Masters. In 1683 Mr. William Gayfford was made governor. At this period Mr. Josiah Child was chairman of the Court of Directors.

About 1688 there was a great change in the fortunes of Madras. The Sultan of Golconda was conquered by Aurungzebe and consequently the English settlement of Madras was brought under the paramount power of the Great Mogul. During the following ten years, there were great dissensions between the Mahrattas and the Moguls. In 1706 Daood Khan became Nawab of the Carnatic. Mr. Thomas Pitt was governor of Madras.

In 1636 the Emperor of Delhi, having a beloved daughter seriously ill, was informed by one of the nobles of his court, of the skill exhibited by European practitioners of medicine, and was induced to apply to the president of Surat for aid in his extremity. Upon this Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*, was directed to proceed to Delhi, and render his professional services. "This he did with such success, that the imperial favors were liberally bestowed upon him, and in particular he obtained a patent, permitting him to trade, without paying any duties, throughout the Emperor's dominions." The benefits of this concession would probably have been very doubtful, had his good fortune not followed him to Bengal, where he cured a favorite mistress of the Nawab, who in gratitude confirmed all his privileges, which were thus employed :—"The generous surgeon did not in his prosperity forget his former employers, but advanced the Company's interests, by contriving that his privileges should be extended to them. Having done so, he wrote an account of his success to the factory of Surat, and the next year a profitable trade was opened in the rich provinces of Bengal."

The natural advantages of Bombay did not escape the notice of the Company, who hoped to gain possession of it as early as 1627. "In that year," writes the Rev. Mr. Anderson, "a joint expedition of Dutch and English ships, under the command of a Dutch General, Harman Van Speult, had sailed from Surat with the object of forming an establishment here, as well as of attacking the Portuguese

in the Red Sea. This plan was defeated by the death of Van Speult, but in 1653 the President and Council of Surat again brought the subject under the consideration of the Directors, pointing out how convenient it would be to have some insular and fortified station, which might be defended in times of lawless violence, and giving it as their opinion that for a consideration, the Portuguese would allow them to take possession of Bombay and Bassein." This suggestion, which was submitted to Cromwell, remained unacted upon. But in 1661, the Portuguese Government, upon the marriage of the Infanta Catherina with Charles II, ceded the long-wished-for island to England as the Infanta's dower. Accordingly a fleet of five ships, under the Earl of Marlborough, arrived in the Bombay harbour on the 18th September of that year, to take possession.

But the Portuguese were unwilling to resign a place so richly endowed by nature, and refused the English demands. Marlborough, not having the means of reducing the place, was compelled to leave the island and return to England. After Marlborough's departure the Portuguese permitted Cook (who commanded the few soldiers remaining of the body that had been brought out,) to occupy the place, but subject to most humiliating terms. The government being dissatisfied with Cook's proceedings, Sir Gervase Lucas was appointed, in 1666, in his room, who soon brought the Portuguese into good behaviour, but he died on the 21st May of the following year. He was succeeded by Captain Gary.

The island not having proved commensurate with the expectations of the king, he made it over by royal charter to the Honorable Company, "upon payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold on the 30th September in each year." On receipt of the copy of the charter in 1668, Sir George Oxenden, then president of Surat, was appointed governor of Bombay. The island was soon found to be of importance, its military strength was increased, and fortifications built to guard the harbour and the settlement.

In 1672 the island was invaded by the Siddees, a powerful and dangerous neighbouring people, whose de-

predations were after a time put a stop to by force and arrangement.

Some idea of the absurdities of the times may be drawn from the pomp with which the president used to move about. The Rev. Mr. Anderson, from whose work these details are obtained writes :—"He had a standard-bearer and body-guard, composed of a sergeant and a double file of English soldiers. Forty natives also attended him. At dinner, each course was ushered in by a sound of trumpets, and his ears were regaled by a band of music. Whenever he left his private rooms, he was preceded by his attendants with silver wands. On great occasions when he issued from the factory, he appeared on horseback, or in a palanquin, or a coach drawn by milk-white oxen. Horses with silver bridles followed, and an umbrella of state was carried before him." This pomp and extravagance the Directors wisely strove to check, and they distinctly informed their president that it would afford them much greater satisfaction were he to suppress such unmeaning show and ostentation. And the more effectually to compass their wishes, they reduced his salary to three hundred pounds a year, and dignified him simply with the title of Agent.

The expense of fortifying Bombay not having been covered by the revenue, the Company became burdened with debt, and determined to reduce the number of their military, and consequently the entire "establishment was reduced to two lieutenants, two ensigns, four sergeants, four corporals and a hundred and eighty privates. No batta was to be paid the detachment at Surat ; the troop of horse was disbanded, and Keigwin, its commandant, dismissed from service."

Keigwin, who was a man of energy and decision, forthwith went to England, and remonstrated against such unjust and impolitic proceedings, and made such an impression on the Court of Directors that he was invited to return and lend the aid of his experience to the Company in their embarrassed position. He immediately complied, and would doubtless have arranged everything satisfactorily, but to his chagrin, in twelve months after his return, he found the Home authorities had revoked a portion of his

official control, and reduced his pay to a miserable pittance. Disgusted with such treatment, and having a strong public sympathy, he declared his secession from the Company and that the inhabitants of Bombay were subjects only of the King of England. In this declaration he was supported by the majority of the residents. "When the intelligence reached England that Bombay had revolted and the president had not been able to reduce it to order, the King commanded the Court of Directors to appoint a Secret Committee of Enquiry. Upon their report His Majesty sent a mandate under his signed manual to Keigwin, requiring him to deliver up the island, and offering a general pardon to all except the ring-leaders. It was further declared that if Keigwin and his followers offered any resistance, all should be denounced as rebels and traitors."

Harsh measures were however rendered unnecessary by the immediate recognition of the King's authority by the whole of the population. Keigwin having obtained a promise of free pardon for himself and supporters, surrendered the island to Sir Thomas Grantham on the 12th November 1684. "Such was a revolt which happily began and ended without bloodshed. Alarming as it was and dangerous to the existence of Anglo-Indian power, it forms an episode in our history of which we are not ashamed. Keigwin emerges from the troubled sea of rebellion with a reputation for courage, honor and administrative capacity: on the other hand, the clemency of the Crown and Company is worthy of all admiration." Some few cases of hardship were doubtless experienced, but upon the whole it was a bold sedition, nobly forgiven and terminated in a juster treatment of the officials, without compromising the integrity of the Company.

Upon the suppression of Keigwin's rebellion, Sir John Wyburn was despatched as deputy governor to Bombay. But John Child, the governor, finding the new deputy too independent to lend himself to the perpetration of the various schemes of aggression which had been concocted by Sir Josiah Child and his brother Directors at home, means were employed for depriving Wyburn of his appointment;

but fortunately he did not live to experience that modification.

The aggression here referred to was the first attempt on the part of the Company to exercise authority over or dictate terms to the Indian rulers. With this intent Bombay was ordered to be fortified as strongly as money could make it, and "the Court of Directors pompously announced that they were determined to make war, not only on the Nawab of Bengal, but in the sequel, upon the Emperor himself. Nor was this sufficient," says the writer from whom we have quoted; "they actually ordered their general to seize the goods of the King of Siam, Bantam and Zombi as reparation for injuries received."

Emperor Aurungzebe naturally became indignant at these threats, at several piratical acts of the English on the coast of Bengal, and still more so when he learnt that his governor at Surat had been insulted by the British authorities. Upon demanding from Child some explanation, the latter instead of entering on such, in his turn made numerous demands from the governor of Surat, who, thereupon on the 26th December, 1688, "seized and imprisoned the factors, Harris and Gladman, and ordered all the goods of the Company to be sold, and offered a large reward to any one who would take Child, dead or alive." The general having failed by negotiation to obtain the release of Harris and Gladman, now exhibited his real character, and captured several native ships, besides forty vessels laden with provisions for the Mogul army. Besides which he behaved with great arrogance to his admiral the Siddee, "and told him plainly that if his fleet ventured to sea, he would assume their intentions as hostile and deal with them as enemies." Instead, however, of carrying out this threat, and adopting means for securing the safety of Bombay, he merely acted upon the defensive.

"With an unaccountable infatuation the English governor had neglected to strengthen the fortifications of Bombay, although the Court of Directors had so urgently reminded him that this was necessary; and on the 14th February, 1689, the Siddee landed at Sewri with twenty or twenty-five thousand men, and at one o'clock in the mor-

ning three guns from the castle apprised the inhabitants of their danger. Then might be seen European and Native women rushing with their children from their houses, and seeking refuge within the fort. Next morning the Siddee marched to Mazagon, where was a small fort mounting fourteen guns, which the English abandoned with such haste, that they left behind them eight or ten chests of treasure, besides arms and ammunition. Here the Siddee established his head-quarters, and dispatched a small force to take possession of Mahim fort, also deserted. The following day the enemy advanced, and the general ordered Captain Penn with two companies to drive them back, but he and his little party were defeated. Thus the Siddee became master of the whole island, with the exception of the castle, and a small tract extending about half a mile to the southward of it. He raised batteries on Dongari Hill, and placed one within two hundred yards of the fort. All persons on whom the English authorities could lay hands were pressed into their service."

Thus passed the months from April to September ; and provisions ran scarce ; but when the monsoon was over, "the Company's cruisers, being able to put to sea, were so successful in capturing vessels and supplies belonging to the Mogul's subjects, that distress was alleviated." Still the danger was imminent. The Siddee's army had been increased to forty thousand fighting men, and the English troops which never amounted to more than two thousand five hundred, dared not venture to meet them in the field.

Child now perceived that negotiation was his only resource, and that the most abject submission would alone assuage the Emperor's wrath. He accordingly despatched two envoys, named Weldon and Novar, to the Mogul court. They were treated with the utmost indignity, and after much suffering were admitted to the Emperor's presence as culprits, with their hands tied behind them. He listened to their entreaties, and at length consented to an accommodation, on condition "that all monies due from them to his subjects should be paid ; that recompense should be made for such losses as the Moguls had sustained, and that the

hateful Sir John Child should leave India before the expiration of nine months." Thus terminated this unfortunate act of bombast, by which the Company, both in money and reputation, was a severe sufferer, as well in England as in India.

Harris, who with several other factors had been released after great sufferings, succeeded to the presidency of Surat and governorship of Bombay. He was a weak, incompetent person, and was soon relieved of his appointment by Annesley Vaux, who after two years' service, was himself dismissed for violating the law against interlopers. In 1692, Captain (afterwards Sir John). Goldesborough was appointed Commissary General with absolute powers. His death in 1694 afforded an opening for the appointment of Sir John Gayer, a man of good character and ability, but whose efforts were frustrated by events beyond his control.

The conflicts between the old and new Companies now commenced, and were carried on with unflinching tenacity. Mutual opposition ensued, and after severe losses on both sides, a compromise was eventually effected. The new Company managed to secure the services of Waite, Pitt, Mather, Annesley and Bouchier, who had been servants of the old Company; they were men of great experience and integrity, and now embarked zealously in the establishments of their new employers. To the secessions were added in 1699, those of Mewse and Brooke, much to the consternation of the president, Sir John Gayer; and this defection was speedily followed by the arrival of Sir Nicholas Waite as president of the new Company, on the 11th January, 1700.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPANY'S COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS

AT the commencement of the Company's commercial operations in India, the trade was not extensive ; but small as the Company's power to trade was, limited as their means were, the profits were nevertheless large. It was not uncommon to make 100 per cent. of profit on their capital ; and in some cases it even exceeded that percentage. The extensiveness of the profits made it desirable that a stricter monopoly of the trade should be secured by charter. Thus, on the accession of Charles, on the renewal of the charter, one of the provisions enacted that any Englishman found trading without a license might be seized, imprisoned, and returned to England. Such was the commencement of that policy which for more than a century influenced the Government of India. That it was a policy which was not productive of large permanent results may well be doubted ; for it was a policy which was based on the restrictive regulations of a monopoly, and not upon those of a liberal or colonial trade.

The early history of the East India Company's trade shows how successful that policy proved in the beginning. That great dividends had been obtained, there cannot be the slightest doubt. From the debates in the Houses of Parliament, from the journal of the House of Commons, from the many pamphlets which were published at that time on the statistics of the trade with the East Indies, those gains might have been said to be almost incredible. In the year 1676, so large had these been, that every shareholder and stockholder of the old East India Company was paid a premium which doubled the stock he held. The dividends rose proportionately. Twenty per cent. was not considered too high as an annual dividend. The Directors of the old Company soon amassed enormous wealth ; rapid fortunes were made, and speculations ran high. It has been said that more than one wealthy merchant on the

Royal Exchange hazarded the greater part of his fortune in East India shares.

In the city of London, a large edifice, not so stately as the subsequent house in Leadenhall Street, or so magnificent as the pile of buildings which now look down on Saint James's Park, was engaged by the Directors. The rooms were gloomy, the passages narrow. At present the India House might vie with any of those majestic buildings, with the exception of Buckingham Palace and the Houses of Parliament, which surround it. Nevertheless in those dingy offices, for many years the great business of the Company was carried on. Treaties were signed with eastern potentates ruling over vast territories larger than many of the continental states of Europe, and war commenced or peace concluded, with native chiefs governing races, semi-civilised it is true, but exceeding in numbers twenty times the population of England.

The old traditionary and commercial policy of the East India Company is now as much a thing of the past as the old building in Leadenhall Street with its quaint facade of the Elizabethan period, and its still quaint figure-head and sign. From the period of the Mutiny in 1857, we have drifted from an old into a new state of things. There has been a fusion of the Indian into the Imperial Government. The Indian army has become a part of the Imperial army. Even the departments of the old India House have merged into departments of the great Imperial establishment.

The new administration required a building worthy of an Imperial office, and that it has one worthy in every way as a state office for a great empire, will not be doubted by those who have visited the present building. The architecture is as imposing when viewed from outside as its decorations are graceful inside. The large tower, the graceful facade as viewed from Charles Street or the Park, the Doric columns and pilasters of the lower storey, the red Peterhead granitic Ionic columns of the second storey, the bases of the columns of red Mansfield stone, its long line of corridors and graceful Corinthian cornice, have placed this building among the most graceful of modern architec-

tural structures. Nor is the interior less worthy of admiration. The grand staircase leading up from the Charles Street entrance, has four of the finest statues which the old East India House could offer. Leading from the entrance may be seen Flaxman's well known statue of Warren Hastings. From it the eye may easily wander to the admirably sculptured statues of Wellesley, Wellington, Clive, and Eyre Coote. Nor are there wanting bas-reliefs. Representations of Indian fruits and flowers may be seen among the architectural ornaments, while some striking incidents in Anglo-Indian history appear in bold relief—The signature of the treaty of Seringapatam—The surrender of the arms of the Sikh chiefs—The grant of the Deccan to Clive, and the Reception of the Ambassador deputed by Queen Elizabeth at the Court of the Mogul.

It is curious to note that not only the old statuary which had decorated the East India House in Leadenhall Street, but also much of the old furniture, is still retained at the new India Office. The Secretary of State still sits in that chair from which, years ago, the Directors of the old East India Company thanked Clive and Hastings for the great and distinguished services rendered by them in the East.

At the time, however, of which we are writing, the Company's office in the city of London was small and unpretending; and its trade-returns during the first decade, though highly promising, bore no comparison to its future magnificent proportions.

But to resume. It was not long before a rival Company started into being; and the two companies obstructed each other; injured each other; maligned each other. And the character of the nation suffered in the eyes of the princes and people of India. The establishment of the new Company in Dowgate, which held its sittings in Skinner's Hall, at first proved nearly fatal to the interests of the trade with the East Indies. But the old Company had wisely predicted that such a contest could not last long, although they did not foresee the manner in which it would be brought to a close.

In 1636 Sir William Courtend obtained from Charles I.

a license to engage in the Indian trade, and forthwith Captain Weddel and Mr. Mountney were despatched to Surat, on behalf of the new Company of Merchants trading to the East. The president and council of Surat at first opposed the assumption of these gentlemen, but were at length obliged to yield on the receipt of a communication from the Secretary of State. From this time until the year 1650, the spirit of contension embittered the officers of both corporations, which militated against their working to advantage. A compromise was effected between them, and the two companies, sinking their animosities and making arrangements about their stocks, were consolidated into one; and in the year 1702 the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies" was prospectively incorporated under the Great Seal.

Matters were finally concluded, and an agreement was entered into by the two companies on the 29th September 1708, and a new governor with the title of general was elected, with a council for Bombay—Aislabie being the general, with Proby, Rendall, Goodshaw, Wyche, Mildmay, Boone and Oakley as members of council.

Whilst the affairs of the two associations were being wound up, preparatory to their practical incorporation as one joint stock, all sorts of outrages were committed. There was no law, there was no decency. The revenue fell off. The administration was at a stand-still. They were evil days for the dignity of Indian adventure. But when in 1709 the United Company were fairly in operation—a brighter day began to dawn, the trade of the Company revived, and their administrative affairs recovered something of order and regularity.

The union of the two Companies is an epoch which properly closes the early history of the British in India. From this time the United Company commenced a new and wonderful career; past struggles had left it in a state of exhaustion; its advance was at first feeble and tardy. But it never receded a step, never even halted. Movement imparted fresh health, and it acquired strength by progress.

From this time, up to the eventful day when Robert Clive, "in the heavy turban and loose trousers of a Mogul,"

escaped from Madras to Pondicherry, and turned his back for ever on the drudgery of the desk, no very noticeable events, bearing upon the progress of English government in India, present themselves for specific mention. But great events were now hurrying the English into an open manifestation of national power, and their territorial possessions, from obscure farms, were fast swelling into rich principalities.

Clive and his little army appeared before Fort William, and the power of the Soubadar of Bengal was broken by a handful of English strangers. The French, who had been contending with us for the European mastery of the southern coast of India, had taught us how to discipline the natives of the country, and we had learned that these hireling troops would be true to the hand that gave them their salt.

The first great battle ever fought by the English in India, placed Bengal at our feet. In a little while, the Dewannee or administration of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with all their wealth, was placed at our disposal by a power no longer able to stem the irresistible tide of European domination ; and territorial revenue now began to take a substantial place in the considerations of the East India Company, and to attract the delicate regards of the Crown.

CHAPTER IV

ANCIENT CALCUTTA

THE Portuguese, Dutch, French and English merchants had long resorted to India for honorable trade and lawful gain ; communities of each of these nations had been established on the coasts and received such protection as could be given by the rulers of the land, who, though themselves probably despising the peaceful arts of commerce, were not blind to the advantages they should derive from this enterprising spirit in others. The principal portion of the cargoes returned to Europe consisted of silk and cotton manufactures. Agencies or factories were established for the collection and storage of these products, against the arrival of the ships, so that cargoes should be ready to be at once shipped. Unhappily it was needful to protect these European factories, not only from the violence of native marauders, but from the aggressions and attacks of rival companies of other European nations. The French and English companies in particular long kept up an arduous struggle ; and aided by their respective governments, carried on senseless animosities and destructive quarrels. And as there was a French factory at Chandernagore on the Hooghly, not many miles distant from the English Factory at Fort William, the nucleus of Calcutta, and a Dutch factory at Chinsurah, on the same river, only two miles from Chandernagore, there might seem to be additional need that the English should place and keep their own factory in a state of defence.

This was the origin of the English Factory on the banks of the Hooghly. It was fortified and had a small garrison for its defence ; around the fortified factory was gradually gathered a number of houses which were occupied by peaceable European merchants and traders, and the huts of natives who were employed by the Europeans or traded with them.

Another small factory had been established by the

English at Cossimbazar, a town on the Hooghly, more than a hundred miles higher up the country. and close to Moorshedabad, the capital of the Mohamedan sovereign of three large and fair provinces in the plains of India.

A writer in 1756 thus speaks of Calcutta : "The bank of the Hooghly was lined on either side of the Fort, with large and handsome houses, built and inhabited by the chief among the English factors ; and in the rear were several equally large and imposing habitations belonging to opulent Baboos, or native merchants ; but the native town consisted of thatched huts—some composed of mud, and others of bamboos and mats, all uncouth and mean ; the streets were dirty, narrow and crooked, whilst a pestilential swamp, close at hand, filled the air with sickly exhalations." The tract now covered by the palaces of Chowringhee, then contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw ; a jungle, abandoned to water-fowl and alligators, covered the site of the present citadel and the course, which is now daily crowded at sunset with the gayest equipages of Calcutta.

In April 1686, a new charter was granted to the Company, confirming all their former privileges, and further empowering them to erect courts of judicature, to exercise martial law, and coin money at a mint of their own.

In 1699 the villages of Chuttanuttee (or Calcutta) and Govindpore were granted to the Company. Sir Charles Eyre was sent out as chief agent in Bengal, with instructions to build a fort, which in honour of the reigning monarch, was called Fort William. But at this time Bengal held the lowest place in the scale, and was subordinate to the presidency of Madras. In 1681-82 Bengal was established as a distinct agency, with instructions to communicate immediately with the Court of Directors. This arrangement did not however last long. The chief agent, who had been sent out directly by the Court, mismanaged affairs and misconducted himself ; and Bengal was accordingly brought back to its old subordination to Madras. About the same time Bombay was constituted an independent settlement, and in 1685-86 it was erected into the chief seat of British power in the East Indies, whilst Surat, with a sub-

ordinate agent and council, was reduced to a factory.

In the year 1715 the English settlements in Bengal were erected into an independent presidency under the name of the presidency of Fort William; and about ten years afterwards a mayor's court was established at Calcutta, which had become the chief place of our trade in that part of the world.

The records of the Mayor's court contain some curious illustrations of the morals and manners of the early settlers, and of the natives, Portuguese and Indians, who clustered round them at the presidency. The people in whose cases they adjudicated were for the most part public or private servants of the settlers themselves, or people connected with the shipping in the ports.

The court carried on all kinds of business. It was at once a civil, a criminal, a military and a prerogative court. It proceeded with remarkable promptitude and despatch, from the proving of a will to the trial of a murderer; from the settlement of a drunken trooper or an extortionate witch. Flogging was the usual remedy prescribed. It was one of general application, and fell with the greatest impartiality on all offenders, old and young, male and female alike.

An attempt was made to levy a duty of 5 per cent. on the sale of Europeans' houses. A Captain Durant firmly refused to pay the duty unless obliged to do so by decree of the Mayor's court. But Captain Durand was not alone in the opposition, the levy of the duty "created universal clamour," and hence the Court in 1757 thought it advisable to relinquish it, "as we do assure you and in course all the inhabitants of Calcutta, that we have a tender regard to their ease, and do therefore consent that the said duty be laid aside. At the same time," continued the Court of Directors in their despatch, "we cannot avoid taking notice of the insolent behaviour of Captain Durand as tending to such a contempt of our authority as ought never to be borne. Your denying him therefore the Company's protection was a very proper measure, more especially as we know of no licence he has ever had to reside in any place in India." Holwell proposed in Council that Captain

Durand should get twenty-four hours notice to leave for England, though he had large concerns in trade ; but the Council decided that he should be sent home with the ships of the season. At this period the Company refused to allow Mr. Plaistead, a civil servant, to return to Bengal after going on furlough to England, on account of "a turbulent temper and unbecoming behaviour, lessening the Government in the eyes of the whole settlement."

It may be interesting to note the salaries given to the covenanted servants of the Company at that time (1757) : Hon'ble Roger Drake, Esq., received £200 per annum ; Chaplain, Rev. Mr. Cobbe £50 ; Senior merchants £40 ; Junior merchants £30 ; Factors £15 ; Doctors £36 ; Writers £5 per annum. These salaries were paid every six months. All servants, however, had other perquisites, and hence the delay in the receipt of their salaries was not so inconvenient. Private trade was generally indulged in, and this brought in far more profitable returns than their regular allowances.

The English factory was first founded therefore before the year 1690, and a considerable town had sprung up around it. But very few features of old Calcutta can be traced in the modern city. The sites of some of the principal buildings are known, but only to the antiquarian.

The oldest of several old epitaphs in Calcutta is, most fittingly indeed, that of the founder of our "City of Palaces,"—the venerable Job Charnock, who is succinctly described by Orme as a man of courage, without military experience, but impatient to take revenge on a Government, from which he had personally received the most ignominious treatment, having been imprisoned and scourged by the Nawab. Captain Hamilton, who was travelling in this country at the time that Charnock was living, says that he was harsh in the extreme in his treatment of the natives, which may be ascribed to the sufferings he had undergone at their hands.

He could not, however, have been very rigorous with *all* natives ; for the beautiful young Hindoo widow, whom he rescued as she was about to become *Sati*, and appropriated to himself, he appears to have tenderly loved whilst

living, and according to Captain Hamilton, deeply lamented when dead, sacrificing a fowl, it is said, at her tomb on every anniversary of her death as long as he lived, which would appear to show that she must have become a Moslem when she was cast out from the pale of Hindooism ; and this is likely enough, for the natives prefer to belong to any caste rather than to none. The incident alluded to is said to have occurred on the banks of the Hooghly about the year 1678.

On another epitaph, said to be found several years ago in the same place, on the tomb-stone of "Joseph Townshend, a Pilot of the Ganges," this romantic episode in the life of Charnock is most quaintly related. Although that tomb-stone bears a date subsequent to the seventeenth century, the 24th June 1738, yet, as it relates to Charnock, and is on the whole most curious, we ought not to omit it here. The poetic effusion for it is in doggrel verse, proceeds in this wise :—

"I've slipped my cable, messmates, I'm dropping down with the tide ;
I have my sailing orders while ye at anchor ride,
And never, on fair June morning, have I put out to sea,
With clearer conscience, or better hope, or heart more light and free.

Shoulder to shoulder, Joe my boy, into the crowd like a wedge !
Out with the hangers, messmates, but do not strike with the edge !
Cries Charnock, 'Scatter the faggots ? Double that Brahmin in two !
The tall pale widow is mine, Joe, the little brown girl's for you.'

Young Joe (you're nearing sixty) why is your hide so dark !
Katie has fair soft blue eyes—who blackened yours ? Why hark ?
The morning gun. Ho steady. The arquebuses to me ;
I've sounded the Dutch High Admiral's heart as my lead doth sound
the sea.

Sounding, sounding the Ganges—floating down with the tide,
Moor me close by Charnock, next to my nut-brown bride,
My blessing to Kate at Fairlight—Holwell, my thanks to you,
Steady !—We steer for Heaven through scud drifts cold and blue."

Previous to 1684-5 the trade of the Company in Bengal had been subject to repeated interruptions from the caprice

of the Viceroy and the machinations of his underlings. The seat of the Factory was at Hooghly, then the port of Bengal, which was governed by a Mahomedan officer, called the Fouzdar, who had a large body of troops under his command, and possessed supreme authority in the place. The Company's establishment was therefore completely at his mercy, and their officers had no means of resisting exactions or resenting insult. The Court of Directors, thus constantly reminded of the disadvantages of their position, naturally became anxious to obtain the same freedom from interference in Bengal which they enjoyed at Madras and Bombay, where their settlements were fortified and the circumjacent lands were under their command. They accordingly instructed their president to demand of the Nawab, and, through him, the Great Mogul, a grant of land where they might establish warehouses and erect fortifications.

While this demand was under consideration, the oppression of the native government brought matters to a point. The *pykars* or contractors, at Cossimbazar, were a lakh and-a-half of rupees in debt to the Company's agents, and refused to furnish new supplies for the investment without a fresh advance of half a lakh of rupees. Charnock refused to comply with the demand. The contractors appealed to the Nawab, who decided in their favor. Charnock however still remained firm; and a very exaggerated representation was sent to the Emperor of the refractory behaviour of the English. All their trade was at once stopped, and their ships were sent away half empty.

When intelligence of these events reached England, the Company communicated it to James the Second, and that monarch sanctioned their resolution to go to war with the Great Mogul, and to establish themselves by force in his dominions. They accordingly sent out a large armament, consisting of ten ships, of from 12 to 70 guns, under Captain Nicholson. Six companies of Infantry were sent at the same time. The orders of the Directors were that their officers should take and fortify Chittagong with 200 pieces of canon, and make it the seat of their commerce, and that they should march up against Dacca, then the

capital of Bengal, and capture it—wild ambitious schemes which were never carried out, or indeed commenced.

A part only of the fleet arrived at Hooghly ; but while the president was waiting for the remainder, an affray was caused by three soldiers on 28th October 1686, at Hooghly, which brought on a general engagement. Nicholson bombarded the town, and burned 500 houses, and spiked all the guns in the batteries ; and the Fouzdar begged for an armistice, to gain time. During the truce, the Company's officers reflected upon their position, in an open town like Hooghly, and resolved to abandon it. Instead, however, of obeying the orders they had received from home of proceeding to Chittagong, they retired to Chuttanuttee, a little below the Dutch factory at Barnagore, where they landed on the 20th November 1686, and the English flag was for the first time planted in the spot destined to become the capital of a great empire.

The history of the subsequent year is obscure, owing to the loss of the vessels which took home the despatches ; but we gather that the Mahomedan general soon after arrived at Hooghly with an army, and that the Company's agents construed this into a breach of the armistice, and proceeded forthwith to plunder Tannah, and every place which lay between it and the island of Ingelee, which they took and fortified. Though our troops began to die by scores of jungle fever, on that fatal island, Charnock obstinately continued to occupy it. Not long after he burned Balasore, and captured forty Mogul ships. Notwithstanding these injuries inflicted on the Mahomedan power, Charnock appears to have applied to the Nawab for an order to re-establish the out-factories of Cossimbazar and Dacca, for the cession of Oolooberya, sixteen miles below Calcutta, and in this he was successful.

Meanwhile, the Court of Directors sent out the most peremptory prohibition of any compromise with the native government, and repeated their resolution to maintain the war with vigor. They accordingly despatched a hot-headed man, of the name of Health, in command of the *Defiance* frigate, with a hundred and sixty men, either to assist in the war if it still continued, or to bring away their whole

establishment if a truce had been made with the enemy. Heath arrived in 1688, and sailed to Balasore roads ; and though a firman had arrived for the re-establishment of British commerce on a favorable footing, he landed his men, stormed the batteries of Balasore and plundered the place. He then embarked the whole body of the Company's servants, and sailed across the bay to Chittagong opened a negotiation with some Rajah in Arracan, and without waiting for his reply, sailed away to Madras, where he landed the whole of the Company's establishment. Thus this premature attempt of the Company to obtain a footing by force in Bengal, and to maintain their position by the terror of their arms, ended in the entire loss of their commerce and the abandonment of all their establishments in the province.

The year 1737 brought with it a great calamity. The *Gentleman's Gazette* of that year says :—"In the night of the 11th October, 1737, there happened a furious hurricane at the mouth of the Ganges, which reached sixty leagues up the river. There was at the same time a violent earthquake, which threw down a great many houses along the river side ; in Golgota (*i. e.*, Calcutta) alone, a port belonging to the English, two hundred houses were thrown down, and the high and magnificent steeple of the English church sunk into the ground without breaking. It is computed that 20,000 ships, barques, sloops, boats, canoes, &c., have been cast away ; of nine English ships then in the Ganges, eight were lost, and most of the crew drowned. Barques of sixty tons were blown two leagues up into the land over the tops of high trees ; of four Dutch ships in the river, three were lost, with their men and cargoes ; 300,000 souls are said to have perished. The water rose forty feet higher than usual in the Ganges."

We may note here some of the localities of ancient Calcutta which do not now exist.

Opposite Tiretta Bazar stood the house of Mr. C. Weston (after whom Weston's Lane was named). When he lived there in 1740, the house was in the midst of a large green, which could have borne witness to many benevolent deeds by its liberal-hearted owner. Mr. Weston here gave

away Rs. 1,600 monthly to the poor with his own hand, and at his death, he left one lakh of rupees as a fund for the benefit of the needy.

In the "Consultations" of Government, dated 20th November 1752, the following appears :—"Perrin's Garden being much out of repair and of no use to any of the covenanted servants, *agreed* to sell it at public outcry on Monday, 11th December, next." Perrin's Garden, Mr. Long tells us, seems to have been what the Eden Gardens are now—the promenade of Calcutta. But for Company's servants only ! It was sold to Mr. Holwell for Rs. 2,500.

The old Government House at Police Ghat, after the erection of the new abode for the President on the restoration of Calcutta from the Mahomedans, was turned into a Bankshall, or Marine yard, and at the ghat in front of it, a dockyard was constructed in 1790 for the repair of pilot vessels ; but it was disused and filled up in 1808.

The "Bread and Cheese Bungalow" is mentioned in an auctioneer's advertisement, in 1802, as being "situated in Dihi Entally, Mouzah Sealdah, on the right hand side of the road leading from Calcutta to Belliaghata, on the salt water lake." On this spot stood afterwards a police choukey. The whole of the ground now has been taken up by the railway station of the Eastern Railway.

In 1757 a Jail stood on the spot where the Lall Bazar and Chitpoor roads cross each other. After the taking of Chandernagore, the French prisoners then captured were confined in this jail. On the 18th December, 1757, these prisoners made their escape by digging under the walls. As late as the present [nineteenth] century the ground near it was used for public executions.

The burying ground which was situated in the middle of the town, was ordered in September 1766, to be no longer used as a place of sepulture, and a new cemetery was chosen in a more convenient situation. This was the site on which the cathedral or the present St. John's church was built. Probably over 12,000 corpses has been interred in this burying ground, since 1698.

The old Council House, which stood in Council House Street, was pulled down in the early part of 1800.

Hamam Lane or Warm-Bath Lane was somewhere close to Clive Street. In this lane was a house, west of the Police Office, where were warm-baths, from which the lane took its name.

The space between the Fort and Chandpal Ghat was formerly occupied with the Respondentia Walk, and adorned with trees, few of which now remain.

Wheler Place was named after Mr. Wheler, the President of the Council, in 1784, and formed part of what is now known as Government Place, West. From it issued a lane called Corkscrew Lane, leading to Fancy Lane.

King's Bench Walk ran along the Strand, where the Bank of Bengal afterwards stood ; it was to the west of the old fort.

Theatre Road, not the present road of that name, was at the back of Writers' Buildings, and took its name from the Theatre, which stood at the north-west corner of Lyon's Range.

Halber's Street issued from Circular Road, some distance to the south of where Janbazar joins it.

Ford Street proceeded eastward from Chowringhee, over what is now called Sudder Street.

Price's Street was named probably after Captain Price of the Hon'ble Company's Marine ; it led from the Strand some distance to the south of the old fort.

From an advertisement (in a paper of July 1792) of a house to let, we learn that the said tenement was situated in *Bond Street* (formerly Old Post Office Street). As the latter name and street exist, and the former name has passed into oblivion, we must suppose that the street which had been christened "*Bond*," reverted to its old name of "Old Post Office Street".

Omichund's Garden, now Hulsee Bagan, was the head quarters of Seraj-o-dowlah in 1757. Omichund was the great millionaire of his day, who by his influence could sway the political movements of the Court of Moorsheadabad. During forty years he was the chief contractor for providing the Company's investments, and realised more than a crore of rupees. He lived in this place with more than regal magnificence. Most of the best houses in Cal-

cutta belonged to him. In 1757 the ground to the east of Omichund's garden was the scene of hard fighting, when the English troops, under Clive, marched in a fog through Seraj-o-dowlah's fortified camp.

Opposite Baitakhana, in the south corner of Sealdah, is the site of the house which formed the Jockey Club and refreshment place of the Calcutta sportsmen, when in former days they went tiger and boar hunting in the neighbourhood of Dum-Dum.

In 1740 the Mahrattas invaded Bengal. They laid waste the country from Balasore to Rajmahal, and finally got possession of Hooghly; the wretched inhabitants took refuge in Calcutta, and the President obtained permission to surround the Company's lands with a ditch, to extend from the northern portion of Chuttanuttee to Govindpore. The Mahratta Ditch was dug in 1742, to protect the English territories, then seven miles in circumference; the inhabitants being terrified at the invasions of the Mahrattas, who the year before invaded Bengal to demand the fourth part of the revenues which they were said to be entitled to by treaty with the native rulers. The ditch was commenced at Chitpore Bridge, but was not completed as the panic from the anticipated invasion had subsided. By the treaty of 1757 with Meer Jaffer, the latter agreed to give up to the English "The Mahratta Ditch all round Calcutta, and six hundred yards all round the ditch; the lands to the southward of Calcutta, as low as Culpee, should be under the government of the English Company". The country on the other side of the ditch was at that time infested by bands of dacoits. When the Marquis Wellesley, whose influence gave a great stimulus to the improvement of the roads, came to Calcutta, the "deep, broad Mahratta Ditch" existed near the present Circular Road. It was then commenced to be filled up by depositing the filth of the town in it. "The earth excavated in forming the ditch," says a writer of that day, "was so disposed on the inner or townward side, as to form a tolerably high road, along the margin of which was planted a row of trees, and this constituted the most frequented and fashionable part about town." Another writer states with reference to this road

in 1802 :—"Now on the Circular Road of Calcutta, the young, the sprightly and the opulent, during the fragrance of morning, in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation." In 1794 there were three houses in its length of three miles. As a means of defence, the ditch was worthless, especially with a small garrison ; and for that reason, probably, it was not used by the English during the attack of Seraj-o-dowlah in 1756.

Near the Old Court House, or as we should now say, near St. Andrews' Church, in the north-west corner of Lyon's Range, stood the Theatre, which was generally served by amateur performers. A ball-room was attached to the building.

"Asiaticus" gives us some humorous remarks on the dancing there :—"The English ladies are immoderately fond of dancing, an exercise ill calculated for the burning climate of Bengal. Imagine to yourself the lovely object of your affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling and every feature distorted with fatigue, and her partner with a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of dipping down her face, while the big drops stand impearled upon her forehead."

Soon after Ibrahim Khan was appointed to the Government of Bengal, he sent two invitations to Charnock to return with the Company's establishment. He at length accepted the offer and landed at Chuttanuttee with a large stock of goods ; and on the 27th April received a firman in which the Emperor Aurungzebe declared, "that it had been the good fortune of the English to repent of their past irregular proceedings," and that he had given them liberty to trade in Bengal without interruption. In 1691, we find Charnock residing in Chuttanuttee with a hundred soldiers, but without either storehouses or fortifications. He died the next year in January. His name is inseparably associated with the metropolis of British India, which he was accidentally the instrument of establishing ; but there does not appear to have been anything great or even remarkable in his character.

On the death of Charnock, Sir John Goldsborough came up from Madras to Chuttanuttee, where he found

everything in disorder, and none of the Company's servants in the factory worthy of being entrusted with the charge of it. He therefore called Mr. Eyre up from Dacca, and appointed him the Chief. In 1694-5 the Court of Directors gave orders that Chuttanuttee should be considered the residence of their Chief Agent in Bengal; and directed that two or three adjoining villages should be farmed.

In 1696-7 happened the rebellion of the Burdwan Zemindar, Sobha Sing, and all the districts to the east of the river from Midnapore to Rajmahal, were for a time alienated from the government of the Viceroy. The foreign factories were threatened with exactions; and the French, Dutch and English Chiefs solicited permission to throw up fortifications for their own defence. The Nawab gave them a general order to provide for their safety, and they eagerly seized the opportunity of strengthening the works which they had previously erected by stealth. Such was the origin of Fort Gustavus at Chinsurah, Fort William in Calcutta, and the French fort at Chandernagore.

In 1698-9 the Chief at Chuttanuttee received a *Nishan* or order from the Viceroy of Bengal for "a settlement of their right at Chuttanuttee, on the basis of which they rented the two adjoining villages of Calcutta and Govindpore." When intelligence of this event reached the Court in London, they ordered that Calcutta should be advanced to the dignity of a Presidency; that the President should draw a salary of Rs. 200 a month, with an additional gratuity of Rs. 100; that he should be assisted by a council of four members; of whom the first should be the Accountant; the second the Warehouse Keeper; the third the Marine Purser, and the fourth the Receiver of Revenues. It was in this year, and under this new organization that the fort, which had now been completed, was called Fort William.

An extract of a letter from Jugdea, near Dacca, dated 16th November, is given in the "Consultations" of the 4th December, 1752:—"That as the time of the Mugs draws nigh, they request us to order the pinnacle to be with them by the end of next month for the safe conveyance of their cloth, and a chest of good powder, with a lanthorn or two."

The Mugs were aborigines inhabiting the hills near Chittagong. Like the Highlanders they levied their black mail in their annual raids, infested the Sunderbund channels, and sometimes extended their piracies and plunderings as far as Budge-Budge, the Portuguese were at times partners in their forays, which caused such terror, that about 1760 a chain was thrown by the Calcutta authorities across the river below Garden Reach, to prevent their vessels from coming up.

Commerce seems, notwithstanding the disadvantages of position, to have grown up early, and with it the usual accompaniment of luxury. In the letters of the Court of Directors, we find frequent complaints and reprobations under this head, and in 1725, Mr. Deane, the President, is severely reproved for having charged "rupees eleven hundred for a chaise and pair" to the public account, which sum he is ordered immediately to refund. "If our servants," say the Directors, "will have such superfluities, let them pay for them."

Despite of reprimands, however, habits of expense continued, and in 1731, we find "the foppery of having a set of music at his table, and a coach and six with guards and running footmen," charged against both the President, and "some of inferior rank ;" and as if this were not enough, it is broadly hinted that "wherever such practice prevails in any of our servants, we shall always expect that we are the paymasters in some shape or other."

The Court had, in 1754, signified to the writers their orders that they should "lay aside the expense of either horse, chair, or palankeen during their writership"; the writers, thereupon, petitioned "to be indulged in keeping a palankeen for such months of the year as the excessive heats and violent rains make it impossible to go on foot without the utmost hazard of their health, which would be subjected to many kinds of sickness were they obliged to disuse their palankeens." The Calcutta Government supported their petition, which was agreed to.

In a despatch to the Court, dated 7th December, 1754, the Government note the arrival of several writers, whom they had stationed in the offices mentioned by the Court ;

—and “*Agreed*,” the despatch continues, “that the servants, covenanted, and military officers be advised of the Company’s orders with relation to their due attendance at church, and required to give due obedience thereto. *Agreed*, that the covenanted servants be in future recommended to a frugal manner of living and attend the several offices from 9 to 12 in the morning, and in the afternoon when occasion be, that our business may be more punctually carried on.”

CHAPTER V

CALCUTTA BESIEGED, 1756

ABOUT 1742 a successful revolution had placed the viceroyalty of the great provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar in the hands of a successful adventurer, of Afghan race, named Ali Verdi Khan. Nominally this ruler held sovereignty under the Great Mogul of Delhi, but in reality he was an independent and absolute monarch; for the Mogul Empire had fallen, never to rise again—its power was departed, and the prince who was seated precariously on its throne, retained only the semblance of royalty.

Under Ali Verdi's auspices the British factors and their servants, both at Calcutta and Cossimbazar, dwelt in prosperity and safety. Ali Verdi, being aged and childless, had adopted the son of one of his nephews, named Mirza Mahomed, or Seraj-o-dowlah. Ali Verdi's Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief was Meer Jaffer.

The subordinate government of Dacca had been administered by an uncle of Seraj-o-dowlah, who had died a short time before Ali Verdi Khan. His dewan or treasurer, not deeming his family or his property safe in Dacca, sent them away under the care of his son, named Kissendass, who solicited and found a temporary refuge in Calcutta. This gave offence to Seraj-o-dowlah, who endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade Ali Verdi Khan that the English were actuated by hostile feelings towards him. The death of Ali Verdi, on the 9th April 1756, leaving Seraj-o-dowlah to pursue his own course, he addressed a letter to the President of Calcutta requiring that Kissendass should be delivered up to him; but this letter, which reached Calcutta on the 14th April, was forwarded in a manner so extraordinary as to warrant suspicion of its authenticity. The bearer, disguised as a pedlar, came in a small boat, and on landing proceeded to the house of an Indian, named Omichund, by whom he was introduced to the British authorities. The British Council appear, on this account

to have viewed the alleged communication from Seraj-o-dowlah with increased distrust, as a contrivance of Omichund to give himself importance ; and the messenger was accordingly dismissed without an answer.

On the return of the messenger Seraj-o-dowllah at once made preparations to attack the English, and on the 22nd of May 1756, sent 3,000 of his soldiers to invest the Fort of Cossimbazar. On the 1st of June Seraj-o-dowlah himself made his appearance before the fort with 30,000 men.

The English were ill prepared to meet his attack. They had originally come to Bengal only as merchants, and their fort was designed for the protection of their commerce, not for resisting the power of the princes of the country, to whose haughty sufferance they were indebted for their highly prized right to dwell and traffic in the land.

But, for whatever purpose designed, their fort was now in disrepair. Arrangements to restore and strengthen it had been for years under consideration, but had been frustrated by the sickness or death of the engineers charged with the important duty.

On the 4th June the fort was given up and plundered. The soldiers, who formed the garrison, were sent as prisoners to Moorshedabad. The Resident and another of the principal factors were detained as prisoners in Seraj-o-dowlah's camp. Among those who were conveyed to Moorshedabad, was Warren Hastings, the future Governor General of India.

An order was issued in August, 1751, "to cut down all the old trees and underwood in and about the town of Calcutta, and reserve them till Mr. Robbins' arrival, as we judged this would be a great saving to your Honors [the Court of Directors] in the article of firewood for burning bricks." Mr. Robbins was sent out to complete the fortifications, which the Court were very anxious about, as they apprehended an attack ; for in Calcutta they had scarcely a gun mounted, or a carriage to mount it on. They were only 200 firelocks fit for service.

In 1753 the Court sent out fifty-five pieces of cannon, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, which were never mounted, and which were lying near the walls of the fort,

when the siege began. The bastions of the fort were small, the curtains only three feet thick, and served as the outward wall of a range of chambers, which with their terraces, were on all sides overlooked by buildings outside within a hundred yards; and there was neither ditch nor even a palisade to interrupt the approach of an enemy. None of the cannon mounted were above 9 pounders, most were honeycombed, their carriages decayed and the ammunition did not exceed 600 charges.

The very year before the loss of Calcutta, Captain Leigh Jones, the captain of the Train—in other words, the commandant of the Artillery—pointed out the ruinous state of the fortifications, and urged their being repaired, but no steps were taken till the enemy was at the door. The garrison was totally unprepared for a siege when the first guns of the Nawab's army, fired at Pering's Point at Chitpore, announced the approach of his overwhelming host; and though the provisions in the Fort were barely sufficient for its small garrison and that only for a short period, more than six thousand of the inhabitants of Calcutta, including several hundred Portuguese women, were admitted into it. Of the five military officers in the garrison, Captain Buchanan was the only one that had any war experience. He exhibited the most undaunted spirit throughout the siege, and at last perished in the Black Hole.

Such was the condition of the settlement when this unexpected danger threatened it. A considerable number of civilians, of all ranks, hastily volunteered to bear arms. The senior members of Government took the post of field-officers, and even the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft, the Chaplain, rendered himself useful as a Captain-Lieutenant. The junior members of the service served in the ranks, and the obstinate defence of the place during the 19th and 20th June, which so greatly exasperated the Nawab, is to be ascribed to their extraordinary valour.

On the 9th June, 1756, Seraj-o-dowlah commenced his march towards Calcutta, with a force, it is said, numbering from 50,000 to 70,000 men. The garrison at Fort William numbered only 264 men, and the inhabitants, forming a militia, were only 250—in all 514 men, while of

these only 174 were Europeans, and of such not ten had seen any active service. Assistance was sought from Madras and Bombay, and the French and Dutch from Chandernagore and Chinsurah were also solicited to join them in the defence of a common cause. The Dutch positively refused, and the French advised the English to repair to Chandernagore, in which case they promised them protection.

On the 13th June a letter from Seraj-o-dowlah's head spy to Omichund was intercepted. In this letter the rich Hindoo merchant was advised to send his effects out of reach of danger as soon as possible, which confirming the suspicions that were already entertained of Omichund's conduct, he was immediately apprehended and put under strict confinement in the Fort. At the same time Kissendass, who had been Omichund's guest, was brought into the Fort.

On the 16th June, early in the morning, tidings arrived of the near approach of Seraj-o-dowlah's army; upon which the greater part of the native inhabitants fled in terror, and others with their wives and children, and all the English women, then in Calcutta, took refuge in the Fort. At noon the army appeared in sight, and commenced the attack upon the devoted town.

The Nawab invested the place on the morning of the 18th June, and before night all the outposts were in his hands, and his troops were enabled to approach within musket shot of the Fort. The assault on Calcutta lasted three days. The defence was conducted with great bravery, but the overwhelming numbers of the enemy rendered success hopeless. Happily there was at the time an English ship and seven smaller vessels in the river.

A council of war was held, when it was decided to send the ladies away in the *Dadaly*, together with the Company's money and books. As that vessel was likely to be overcrowded, Mr. Holwell offered his own ship, the *Diligence*, on which four of the ladies embarked.

The council of war continued to sit till 4 in the morning. At 2, the President Mr. Drake, Mr. Mackett, a member of council, Commandant Minchin and Captain Grant

fled to the ships, leaving their companions to the mercy of an infuriated enemy. The flight of the President and the military officers became the signal for a general desertion. Crowds hastened down to the river, and each one leaped into the first boat he could find; and in a few moments every boat of every description was gone.

Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, two of the members of council, were the first to set the example of flight. On pretence of accompanying the ladies, they went on board the *Dodaly*, of which they were part owners, and from which they never returned. Their master's papers and cash were left behind—for want of coolies; though coolies were easily found to convey other packages on board, which were reasonably supposed to belong to the owners.

It was afterwards determined, in a general council, that the garrison should abandon the Fort and make their escape to the ships the next evening. But in the meanwhile many of the native boatmen deserted, and when it was proposed to ship off the native women and children, all order was lost among the affrighted multitude, and the remaining boats were over-crowded, several upset, and numbers of the hapless fugitives were drowned, while such as managed to reach the shore, were either murdered, or made prisoners by the soldiers of Seraj-o-dowlah, who had taken possession of all the houses and enclosures on the bank of the river. The ships too had slipped and moved to Govindpore, three miles lower down the river.

The gentlemen in the Fort, thus abandoned by their superiors, and their retreat cut off, held a council, and selected Mr. Holwell as their Chief. The garrison made the most vigorous defence of the fort during the 19th, and till 10 o'clock on the forenoon of the 20th, when it was found that of 170 men who had been left, 25 were killed and 70 wounded; that all were exhausted with fatigue, and that the Fort itself was no longer tenable. Mr. Holwell, therefore, determined to capitulate. In sheer helplessness, they surrendered themselves, and the evening were all mercilessly thrust into a single ill-ventilated room, eighteen feet square, for confinement through the sultry night. When the morning came, the door was opened, but, out of one

hundred and forty-six prisoners, twenty-four only were living. The rest had expired in the agonies of suffocation.

All the ladies in the settlement had been embarked, save one, a very "fine country-born lady," as Holwell calls her, the wife of Mr. Carey, an officer of one of the ships, who refused to quit her husband, and when the town was captured, resolved to accompany him into the prison of the Black Hole, from which she was drawn forth in the morning, and emaciated widow. She was taken by force to the Nawab's camp, and it is said, she remained seven years in the seraglio; but this assertion needs proof. She lived to be the last survivor of the Black Hole prisoners. She died in the year 1801.

The Block Hole, of fearful memory, was a room above ground, ordinarily used as the garrison lock-up; it was entirely closed up on two sides, on the third was a door leading into the barrack, and on the fourth two small barred windows opening into a verandah; its superficial area appears to have been about 250 square feet, and it barely afforded standing room for the 146 persons packed into it by order of Seraj-o-dowlah.

Those who escaped from the besieged factory, lay "on board a few defenceless ships at Fultah, the most unwholesome spot in the country, about twenty miles below Calcutta, and destitute of the common necessities of life;" but by the assistance of the French and Dutch, and privately by the help of the natives, who sold them all kinds of provisions, they supported the horror, of their situation till August. Then two hundred and forty men came from Madras. But evil was still before them. Disease, arising from "bad air, bad weather, and confinement to the ships," with the want of proper supplies, now broke out, and swept off "almost all the military and many of the inhabitants."

When the English quitted the fort, they remained for several months on board of the ships at Fultah. Some of the provisions were supplied by Nabokissen, at the risk of his life, as the Nawab had prohibited, under penalty of death, any one supplying the English with provisions. Warren Hastings, taking into consideration this noble con-

duct of Nabokissen in the time of pressing need, made him his moonshee, and elevated him and his family in rank and station.

In the Government Proceedings of the 14th February, 1757, we find the following accounts of expenses of the European refugees from Calcutta on board the vessels anchored off Fultah :—“(1) Bill for allowances for the inhabitants on board from 1st October to 31st December, at Rs. 50 per mensem each, amounting to Rs. 1,708-5-3. (2) Bill for diet expenses of ditto, for part of September, Rs. 141. (3) Bill for diet of ditto on board the *Dragon* sloop, from 26th July to 26th September, Rs. 364. (4) Note for wine, &c., for the use of the sick, Rs. 336.”

For half a year after this horrible catastrophe, there was little left besides the blackened ruins of the Fort and factory buildings, to show how a company of adventurous Englishmen had made an abortive attempt to settle on the fertile plains of Bengal, and to establish commercial relations between their own distant island and the natives of Northern India. A large native town remained, which had rapidly grown up around the factory; but it was Seraj-o-dowlah's resolve to wipe out all traces of British occupancy from the country over which he ruled.

In a letter from Clive to the Court, dated 26th July 1757, we learn that “Mons. Law and his party came down as far as Rajmahal to Seraj-o-dowlah's assistance, and were within three hours' march of him, when he was taken; as soon as they heard of his misfortune, they returned by forced marches and passed Patna.” Mons. Law was Chief at Chandernagore, who, with Bussy, had promised Seraj-o-dowlah their aid against the “perfidious” English.

How little were the strange issues of these dismal events foreseen. Intrepid Britons soon came with Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive from Madras, to the succour of those of their countrymen, who had escaped destruction. Victory attended the little army whithersoever it advanced, and before the anniversary of the unhappy siege came round, Calcutta had been triumphantly re-taken, the battle of Plassey had been won, and the throne of the Nawab was occupied by a partisan of the English. By those who had

been his own creatures, the fugitive tyrant was put to death, while the British obtained that firm footing and that arm of power in Bengal, which speedily led to their acknowledged supremacy there. In short, the foundations had been laid of that great Indian empire, whose growth has been as marvellous as its beginning.

Near the site of the Black Hole, an obelisk, 50 feet high, was erected by Mr. Holwell, and the other survivors, but the monument was pulled down by order of the Marquis of Hastings in 1819, some assert, on the ground that it was inexpedient to perpetuate the memory of the disaster; but the most likely reason was to make room for the Custom House. The exact site of the dungeon cannot apparently now be determined; but according to Holwell's narrative, it must have been to the south of the east gateway and near the south-east bastion. Remembering the now ascertained position of the northern limits, and of the known length of the eastern wall of the old fort, this would place it between the Custom House and the new Post Office, and close to the road at the north-east corner of Dalhousie Square.

In the course of making the excavations requisite for the foundations of the East Indian Railway offices, a very interesting discovery was made, which removes any doubt there may have been as to the position of the northern limits of the old fort of Calcutta. The original Fort William, built in 1692, and named after the then reigning monarch, was situated on the bank of the Hooghly, and extended from the middle of Clive Street to opposite the northern end of the Lall Diggee. This can only be correct on the supposition that Clive Street, in those days, comprised the road from Hare Street to the site of the present Bonded Warehouse; for it is now clear that the northern wall of the fort ran along what is at present the southern side of Fairlie Place, and that the fortifications lay wholly to the southward of what is now the south end of Clive Street.

The portion of the old entrenchment which was laid bare, was evidently the north-west bastion, and corresponds in shape and bearing with this corner of the walls as shown

in an old map and picture of Calcutta in 1756, given in Orme's *Hindoostan*. According to this and other available authorities, the Fort was 210 yards long, 100 yards broad at its northern, and 110 at its southern end, having a gateway in its eastern and western walls, and a bastion at each corner; the east gateway exactly faced the road running in front of Writers' Buildings, which, with its continuation, Bow Bazar Street, appears to have been called "the avenue leading to the eastward." When, in 1819, the old fort was dismantled to make room for the Custom House, its walls were found so hard as to defy pickaxe and crowbar, and render gunpowder necessary for their demolition. This statement is fully confirmed by the toughness of the old masonry lately opened up, and Holwell describes the mortar which was used in it as "a composition of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and hemp, a cement as hard as stone."

On the 23rd December, 1819, some workmen employed in pulling down an old building contiguous to the Bankshall, and "immediately opposite Mr. Hare the watch-maker's shop," discovered a large collection of bayonets. They were first seen on breaking down the masonry which filled a doorway on the north side. There was no other entrance to the place in which they were found. It was blocked up by walls on three sides. The fourth wall, to the west, however was not carried up to the roof, and left a space of about three feet. Through this opening, it was supposed that the bayonets must have been thrown, apparently in a hurry, as they were heaped up in a very confused manner. They were of all shapes and sizes, and though covered with rust, many of them had the Company's mark still visible. The number thus discovered was upwards of 12,000! Underneath the bayonets were several cooking utensils, articles of household furniture and oyster shells, and also auction advertisements and tavern bills, dated 1795. The mysterious circumstance gave rise to various conjectures, but nothing definite was come to.

West of St. John's Church, in the premises afterwards occupied by the Stamp and Stationery Committee, was for-

merly the old Mint, where the Company coined its rupees from 1791 to 1832. The treaty permitted the Company to establish a mint, from which the first coin was issued on the 19th August, 1757. The coins were, however, struck in the name of the Emperor of Delhi. It was not till the reign of William IV, that the Company commenced to strike rupees with the King's head and an English inscription. On the site of and previous to the building of the old Mint, stood in 1790 the flourishing ship-building establishment of Gillets. Before the erection of the Mint the coinage was executed by contract at Pultah by Mr. Prinsep, who commenced the coinage in 1762.

CHAPTER VI

CALCUTTA RESTORED, 1758

Rebuilding of the City—Resumption of Trade

ABOUT twenty miles from Calcutta, in a straight line, as the crow flies, but fifty miles by water, lies Fultah. Ordinarily a place of little note, except that it was the general station for Dutch shipping, it was in 1756 raised to temporary importance as the rendezvous of the small English fleet that had escaped from Calcutta, and the city of refuge for subsequent English fugitives. Here, in guarded dwellings, were the English women who had been rescued from the fort, and also the greater number of the small remnant of sufferers from the Black Hole tragedy. Here also were the agents of the Company from the subordinate factories of Dacca, Jugdeea, and Balasore, who on the first alarm of danger had escaped from the factories to the protection of the fleet.

It was Colonel Clive to whom was entrusted the recovery of the lost possessions of the English in Bengal; and early in October, 1756, a naval and military armament—the former commanded by Admiral Watson, and the latter consisting of nine hundred English and fifteen hundred native soldiers, sailed from Madras for Calcutta. The squadron consisted of five ships of war. It did not however reach Fultah before the middle of December.

It was not long before measures were arranged for the retaking of Calcutta, and the fleet pushed forward. Budge-Budge was captured, and when the ships arrived off Calcutta, a panic had stricken the General of Seraj-o-dowlah; so that he fled with the greater portion of his troops to Hooghly. Thither he was pursued. Hooghly was taken; Chandernagore also; and the victorious Clive then marched over to Plassey, where with 3,000 men, of whom only 650 were British soldiers, he met and conquered the hosts of Seraj-o-dowlah. Thus ended the battle of Plassey, which

delivered the English in Bengal from an unreasonable and tyrannical oppressor, and transferred to their hands the reigns of government over a widely extended and yet spreading empire.

The arrival of a French fleet with large reinforcements of military on the coast in July, 1758, caused much consternation among the English residents in Calcutta, and various plans were proposed for defending the settlement against any attempt to take the place. Captain Brohier, who had charge of the building of Fort William, wished to sink ships and place a boom across the stream at Calpee, to prevent the French coming up the river. A select committee, that had been appointed to consider the subject, recommended "that five boats should be prepared, to be filled with combustibles in order to burn their ships in case they advanced up the river; that the pagoda at Ingelee should be washed black, the great tree at that place cut down, and buoys removed or their positions altered. The master attendant and Captain Brohier were accordingly ordered to purchase boats and materials for the above mentioned purpose, and to prepare everything for the execution of the scheme in case of an enemy's fleet advancing up the river."

Fort William was begun by Lord Clive after the battle of Plassey in 1758, about a mile to the southward of the old fort, on the site of a thick forest and two villages, the inhabitants of which had been induced to settle in Calcutta by the Seths, a wealthy mercantile family. Where the splendid houses of Chowringhee now stand, a miserable village, surrounded by marshy pools, existed in 1717; and even in 1756, when Seraj-o-dowlah took the place, only seventy houses were inhabited by Englishmen. The citadel of Fort William cost two millions sterling; but it is on so great a scale, that a garrison of 15,000 men is required for its defence. It is built in the form of an octagon, and is fortified according to Vauban's system; three of the fronts, however, which are turned towards the Hooghly to command the river, deviate from the regular form. The five regular sides are inland; the bastions have all very salient orillons behind which retire circular flanks; the moat is

dry, and has a lunette in the middle, but it can be laid under water by means of two sluices. In front of every courtine is a ravelin, the faces of which mount twenty-six pieces of heavy artillery. The demi-bastions on each side are covered by a counter-guard, the faces of which are likewise defended by twenty-six guns. In the interior of the citadel are bomb-proof barracks, the arsenal, and the magazines. The garrison consists of two European regiments, one of sepoys, and a few companies of artillery ; because the principal station is at Barrackpore, thirteen miles distant, where there are 7,000 men. The arsenal contains arms of 80,000 men. Close to it some works have been erected, by means of which the whole may be laid under water in a very short time. An artesian well was begun some years ago, but afterwards abandoned. In boring this well, the bones of dogs were discovered at the depth of 150 feet !

In consequence of advices that Mons. Lally had destroyed the houses of Fort St. David, had set fire to and damaged the houses at the Mount, and was intending the destruction of Black Town had he not been prevented by the arrival of troops from Calcutta, the authorities at the head of the Government of Bengal immediately ordered the demolition of the "wharfs, magazines and houses, both public and private, at Chandernagore,"—and they were at once destroyed, with the exception of the houses of a few indignant widows, which were permitted to remain untouched. This was done in December, 1758.

From this period, Calcutta rapidly increased in extent and population. In 1798 the number of houses was 78,760, and population between 6 and 700,000.

European residences were at first collected around the old Fort ; but, as confidence grew stronger, "garden houses" sprung up in the suburbs, and the area of the town was enlarged. The thatched huts of the natives composed most of the streets, and accidental and incendiary fires annually produced wide spread devastation amongst them. In March, 1780, no fewer than fifteen thousand "straw houses" were thus destroyed ; and a hundred and nineteen persons perished in the conflagration. Famines were also frequent

and frightfully destructive. One which extended over 1770 and 1771 was the most terrible in its consequences, but others of shorter duration occasioned unspeakable suffering. In 1788 it was necessary to give daily allowance to upwards of twenty thousand starving people in Calcutta, whilst "the crowds of those who surrounded the city and lined the roads to it," exhibited a scene of misery and wretchedness which words could not paint or tongue express. "So numerous," says the *Calcutta Chronicle*, of October 9th, 1788, "are the wretches, who daily expire on the roads leading to Calcutta, that there is scarcely a sufficient number of men of the *Hari* caste to carry the bodies away before they turn putrid and infectious." The *Chronicle* proceeds,—“Some more decent, and less shocking manner should be practised in carrying the dead bodies to the river instead of that now in use. Sometimes they are loosely flung across a bamboo, and frequently tumble off on the way. At other times, the feet and hands are tied together, and in this shocking and indecent manner the bodies are carried naked through the streets.”

The European residents were always generous in aiding such sufferers, but it was often declared that the opulent natives seemed to be utterly regardless of the woes of their miserable countrymen, and gave only when superstition extorted what philanthropy would not yield. The most revolting practices of Hinduism were unblushingly exposed to public view. The editor of one of the newspapers complains, in October, 1792, that he had just seen about fifty *Sanyasis* parading the streets of the city, all utterly naked. Widows were burned alive with the bodies of their husbands, close to the city; and there was reason to believe that, now and then, the bloody goddess *Kali* was propitiated by a human sacrifice at the celebrated shrine in the south-eastern suburb, from which, most probably, the city takes its name. The police regulations in those early days were very inefficient. Dacoits, those red-handed robbers, who ruthlessly combined most cruel atrocities with destructive pillage, abounded in many districts of Bengal, both on land and upon the rivers; and the consternation their daring exploits produced, was felt in Calcutta itself.

On a platform erected to the south-west of Cooley Bazar, (which was once an extensive Musalman burial ground) Nundcomar, once Dewan to the Nawab of Moorshedabad, was executed on the 5th August, 1775—the first Brahmin hanged by the English in India. The excitement caused by his death was so great among the Hindoos, that it was supposed that the lives of the judges would be attempted by the infuriated mob.

If Clive or Admiral Watson were to revisit the banks of that river, which more than a century ago they passed up with the few ships and small handful of fighting men, which paved the way for the conquest of Hindoostan, they would out-do Dominie Sampson in their hearty exclamations of "Prodigious !" Where erst were to be seen a few Bengalee fishermen or boat-men, mending their nets or cleaning their cooking pots, is now a broad and level road, covered, at eventide, by hundreds of carriages and horsemen. No sooner does the setting sun tinge the western horizon, than all the English residents in Calcutta throw open their doors and windows, make a hasty toilet and sally forth, in carriage or on horseback, to enjoy the evening air. The Course is crowded with vehicles of every description ; one marvels who all those people are that own these hundreds of carriages.

The first impression made on the mind of the stranger is, that there must be an enormous number of wealthy inhabitants in Calcutta. But the equipage is, in reality, no sort of index to the worldly possessions of the owner. It may let you, perhaps, into the secret of a man's vanity—certainly not of his income. Some of the most pretending equipages on the Course are sported by people belonging to the second class of society—respectable personages enough no doubt, and peradventure, not much given to show ; but the wife and the daughters must have their britska or barouche, though they do pinch a little at home to maintain it, and on the Course at least, the wife of the uncovenanted subordinate may jostle the lady of the head of the office. When we consider how much is often sacrificed to support the dignity of a carriage and pair—how much substantial comfort is thrown aside to make room for this

little bit of ostentation—that the equipage is with many, *the* thing from which they derive much of their importance—we soon cease to wonder at the formidable array of conveyances which throng the Course every evening, and present a scene, which, as one of daily occurrence, has not perhaps, its parallel in the world.

So powerless were the Indian authorities to punish natives, than on the occasion of eleven lascars, the crew of one of the Company's vessels, having risen on the captain and killed him on account of his bad usage of them, in October, 1754, the Government "dreaded a war with the Nawab should they hang Musalmans," and therefore referred the matter to the Court of Directors, detaining the culprits in prison, "to be produceable at any time, if sickness do not take them out of the world."

Some German ships being expected in September, 1754, orders were issued to all the pilots in the river, prohibiting them taking charge of them, or of any vessels not "belonging to powers already established in India; they also advised the Court that "nothing shall be wanting on our part to put any obstacle we can devise in their way."

A sum of Rs. 338-6-9 was paid to Messrs. Wells and Drake "on account of expenses of the fortifications at Bagbazar for the month of December, 1754." This redoubt, says Mr. Long, defended by sixty Europeans and natives, repulsed with loss the Nawab's army on the 16th June, 1756.

The Company, in 1755, began to resist the unwarrantable assumption of authority which the Rajah of Burdwan often exercised over Company's servants. This was manifested in an affair which occurred in the beginning of 1755. An European, named Wood, had obtained a warrant of sequestration against the Rajah's *gomashtas*, by virtue of which he had sealed up the Rajah's house and effects in Calcutta. Upon which the Rajah stopped the Company's business in all the districts of the Burdwan Raj. The Company therefore sent a remonstrance to the Nawab, and requested that a proper reprimand should be administered to the Rajah of Burdwan. This the Nawab duly administered, and the stoppage of the trade was removed.

One of the earliest works that treat of Calcutta, is "The Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus," written by Phillip Stanhope, an officer of the 1st Regiment of Dragoon Guards, which was published in London in 1785. Stanhope came to India in 1774, he touched at Madras and then proceeded to Calcutta. It was the time when the *hooka* was in vogue. He says—"Even the writers, whose salary and perquisites scarce amount to £200 a year, contrive to be attended, wherever they go, by their *hooka-burdar*, or servant whose duty it is to replenish the *hooka* with the necessary ingredients, and to keep up the fire with his breath. But, extravagant as the English are in their *hooka*, their equipage and their tables, yet all this is absolute parsimony, when compared to the expenses of a seraglio—a luxury which only those can enjoy whose rank in the service entitles them to a princely income, and whose harem, like the state horses of a monarch, is considered as a necessary appendage to eastern grandeur."

The village of Chitpore, a little beyond the junction of the Circular Canal with the river at the north-eastern extremity of Calcutta, appears to have been in existence more than three hundred years ago. It was then written Chittrupoor, and was noted for the temple of Chittresuree Dabee, or the goddess of Chittru, known among Europeans as the temple of *Kali*. This was the spot where the largest number of human sacrifices were offered to the goddess in Bengal before the establishment of the British Government. The most conspicuous object at Chitpore is the house and garden of the Nawab, Tuhower Jung. This was the original residence of the Chitpore Nawab, as he was called, Mahmed Raja Khan, to whom the whole administration of Bengal, civil, criminal and revenue, was entrusted for several years after the Company had obtained the Dewanee. It was to this house that the Nawab was brought a prisoner in 1772, by the peremptory orders of the Court of Directors, when they suspected that he made the interests of the country and the Company subservient to his own. After he arrived, and was lodged in his own house under a guard, the members of council actually debated on the mode in which the object of their master's displeasure should be

received, and the majority decided on deputing one of their number to do him honor !

There being no proper places for the public offices, it was proposed in the "*Consultations*," of the 22nd June, 1758, and agreed, "to purchase the dwelling, house of the late Mr. Richard Court, and appropriate it to such purpose ; in which a room should be set apart as a Council Chamber." This house was situated in the street called after it Council House Street.

The Diamond Harbour Road was lined with trees from Kidderpore to Bursea. This road was thirty-nine miles in length, while the river route was fifty-six. It must have been of great convenience for traffic, when cargo-boats occupied from five to seven days in taking goods from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour ; and when ships were accustomed to take three weeks beating up to Calcutta from Diamond Harbour.

It may be interesting to know what was the rate of taxation in 1810, and for some years previous to that, when no municipal bodies existed. (1) Dwelling houses of every description (not shops), five per cent. on the annual rent, or estimated rent when occupied by the proprietors ; (2) shops or houses occupied as shops, ten per cent. on annual rent ; (3) no tax on empty houses ; (4) all religious edifices exempt from tax.

An extraordinary project, was in 1789 in agitation by the French, of proceeding to India through Egypt ; and a very formidable expedition was said to be preparing in the Mediterranean, to answer at once the purposes of science and conquest and of which the object was to strike a formidable blow against the English in India. The following is one among the most remarkable passages in an article on this subject contained in the *Redacteur*, signed Barbault Royer :—"It is only in the absolute ruin of its power (of England in India) that we can crush this superb rival ; so long as Britain shall dispense the treasures of Bengal, what foreign power can be insensible to the seducing influence of its wealth ? What means is there to prevent the rupees of Orissa purchasing the perfidy of kings, of stimulating their leagues, and subsidising their hungry battalions ? It

is by uniting our efforts in concert, and striking at the very source of their riches. Europe and Asia must resound with the same blows. India must be subjugated by crossing the waves of the Red Sea, and our conquest in the East must extinguish the hope of our enemy of repairing in that quarter the wreck of its throne in Europe."

Fort Marlborough was a place of some importance at this time, (1795). It was fortified by two hundred sepoys and a complete company of Artillery. War with France had been declared, and it was feared that that nation would pounce down with her navy on the Indian colonies of England : perhaps that was the principal reason for the above armament.

Affairs in Europe being very critical, England being threatened with invasion by France, for which the large flotilla and naval force was in rapid progress, several of the wealthy inhabitants at home were stirred up in their loyal feelings towards their sovereign and their country, to contribute nobly to the supply of pecuniary means for the defence of their country. Up to the 1st March, 1798, a million and-a-half had been received at the Bank of England, and contributions were pouring in from all parts of the country.

When the news of this liberality on the part of the citizens of London and of the country reached India, the loyal inhabitants of Calcutta at once convened a public meeting for the purpose of "expressing in an humble and dutiful address to His Majesty, our loyalty and attachment to his Royal Person and Government at this important crisis, and also of considering the best mode of promoting voluntary contributions in these provinces and their dependencies, in order that the amount thereof may be applied to the public service, in such manner as Parliament may direct."

The meeting was called by the Sheriff and held at the Theatre on the 17th July, where there was a numerous and respectable gathering of the British inhabitants. Addresses were drawn up, and a book for voluntary contributions opened. The sum at once subscribed at the meeting was £30,616, and several large annual subscriptions to be paid

so long as the war should last, amounting to a total of £5,655 sterling. Other sums were subsequently added, making a total of £158,053, showing the loyalty of the colonists and their good feeling to their country.

Similar meetings were held at Madras on the 12th July and at Bombay on the 28th June, when the voluntary contributions at Madras amounted to 185,916 star-pagodas, and at Bombay to Rs. 2,44,707. And so general was the feeling of loyalty among all classes, that the officers, and non-commissioned officers and privates of the army subscribed one month's pay towards the fund. The proprietors of Bank Stock also held a meeting, and the Deputy Governor was empowered to make a contribution of £200,000 for the service of the country.

Stimulated by the loyal meetings held by the European inhabitants of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, several of the principal native inhabitants of Calcutta, who were desirous of testifying their loyalty to the King of England, and their attachment to the British Government under whose protection they lived, held a meeting on the 21st of August, 1798, and determined to raise a subscription among their body, for the same purpose as that raised among the European residents, viz., to assist the Government in carrying on the war then raging in defence of England, and her Eastern possessions. The signatures to the requisition for the meeting were:—Gourchurn Mullick, Nemoychurn Mullick, Ramkissen Mullick, Gopeemohun Tagore, Collychurn Holdar, Russick Lall Dutt, and Gocool Chund Dutt—all wealthy and loyal subjects, and who showed their liberality by subscribing a sum of Rs. 20,800 at once.

The following stanzas of a local poet seem to refer to the threatened invasion by France of the British possessions in India. It bears date 16th August, 1798:—

“Forth like a cannon let it roar ;
Quick, let it sound from shore to shore :
Let the impulsive shock rebound ;
Let cities, rocks, and castles echo round,
Britannia rules the main
A louder yet, and yet a louder strain,
Proclaim, proclaim, proclaim.

Britain, ever bold and free,
Long shall live to rule the sea.

Girt in its azure zone :
Hispania, Gallia, and Batavia know,
(Taught by many an overthrow,)
She rules the main alone.

Spirit of England rouse. They know thy strength :
The furies of mankind are taught to fear at length.

They wish a great event ;
They see the danger, yet they fain
Would 'tempt to cross the hostile main,
And make a good descent.

Let their huge rafts immortal be ;
Impregnable to every force at sea ;
See new invented castle smoke ;
Hear them the gods of fire invoke,
Approaching to our shore—

They will return no more.
See them at length obtain the strand,
Their horse and foot at quick command,
Forming line upon the sand—
They will return no more.

The mighty god whose trident rules the sea,
Terrific frowns, and issues this decree :
"Unhappy they who reach my sacred shore,
"Doomed to return to Gallia's plains no more."
I see the thunderer with vindictive ire,
Repel their troops, and urge the vengeful fire ;
While o'er the ranks of late insulting France,
Triumphant Britain wields her conquering lance.
This active fancy portrays to my view :
Britions be bold : you'll make the fiction true.

Thus erst, in great Eliza's reign,
The grand Armada braved the seas in vain ;
Nor less, ILLUSTRIOUS GEORGE, shall be thy fame,
A loyal nation rises at thy name,
And see, they VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS bring,
Proud to assert the glorious cause
Of ORDER, LIBERTY and LAWS :
Their COUNTRY and their KING."

Stavorinus tells us that in 1798 the English had "some warehouses and a factory" at Diamond Harbour, "much

frequented by ships ; close to it is a channel called the Shrimp Channel."

A little beyond Ishapore once stood Bankybazar, where the Ostend East India Company established a factory and a fort, it is supposed in 1724, and from which they were expelled in 1733, by the troops of the Mahomedan Government at the instigation of the English and the Dutch.

There is a place on the sea coast, not far from Hidgelee, called Burcool, which about the year 1780 to 1785 was reckoned the Brighton of Calcutta. There were at that time many bungalows there, and the place was a considerable station ; but for some reason it became deserted, and in 1823, only one bungalow remained standing ; this building had been erected by Warren Hastings.

Akra, a little below Garden Reach, was in 1760, a salt depot ; afterwards it was used as a powder magazine, and subsequently as a Race Course.

Howrah in 1799 had docks and a good garden belonging to the Armenians. The ground to the north-west of the church is marked in Upjohn's map as practising grounds of the Bengal Artillery.

Surman's Bridge was situated near where Hastings' Bridge now is : it was built of brick, and was named after Mr. Surman, a member of council. He was a member of the Embassy to Delhi in 1717. His residence was to the south of the bridge in a place called Surman's Gardens, which is rendered memorable as the spot where the Governor and his party stopped when they cowardly deserted the Fort in 1756.

Baraset, ten miles from Calcutta, was in 1763, and for many years afterwards, a favourite retreat for those wishing to enjoy a country life and pig-sticking. The way to it lay through Dum-Dum, then on the borders of the Sunderbunds, where Lord Clive had a country house.

Ghyretty had a magnificent house erected by the French as a second Versailles, noted for festivities in the days of Dupleix when 120 carriages lined its magnificent avenues.

Warren Hastings had a garden house to the west of Belvedere House, now the residence of the Governor of Bengal, at Kidderpore. There is a note in the Council's

proceedings of the 20th June, 1763, where Mr. Hastings requests permission of the Board to build a bridge over the Collyghaut Nallah on the road to his garden house. Agreed, his request to be complied with.

The Luckypore Factory, which in 1761 stood a mile up a creek, locked in and secure both from the strong freshes and the impulse of bores, and the S.W. monsoon, was in 1767 so encroached upon by the river that it was eventually washed away entirely.

All the guns and stores were ordered, in February 1793, to be brought from Budge-Budge, and that fort henceforward was no longer held as a military outpost.

The Government having determined to dispose of the whole of the buildings and lands of Pultah Factory, and also of the old powder works at Manicolly and of Fort Gloucester, immediately opposite to Budge-Budge, a notice appears on the 15th April, offering them for competition at public auction on the 31st of May, 1790. The sale took place in July, when the buildings and premises were knocked down to the following parties :—

Pultah Factory	Sa.	Rs. 5,800	Messrs. Lee and Ullman.
Do. Bleaching ground	„	5,800	Mr. Ulman.
Old Powder works	„	3,000	Mr. Tyler.
Fort Gloucester	„	2,450	Lieutenant Moggach.

The Police Office in Lall Bazar was once the residence of John Palmer, one of the “merchant princes” of Calcutta.

On the opposite side of the street stood the old Jail, which also served as the Tyburn of Calcutta, all the executions taking place in the cross road near it. The pillory was erected also on that spot. At the siege of Calcutta in 1756, it served like another Hougumont, as a point of defence.

Opposite the old Jail and next to Palmer's house was the famous “Harmonican Tavern,” in 1780. This building was afterwards the Sailors' Home. It was the handsomest house then in Calcutta, and proved a great comfort to the poor people in jail, to whom supplies of food were frequently sent from thence. It was founded in the days when strangers considered that “every house was a paradise, and every host an angel.” Mrs. Fay writes of this house

in 1780 :—"I felt far more gratified some time ago, when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket of gentlemen who each in alphabetical rotation gave a concert, ball and supper, during the cold season ; I believe once a fortnight. We had a great deal of delightful music, and Lady C—who is a capital performer on the harpsichord, played amongst other pieces, a Sonata of Nicolai's in a most brilliant style."

The sandbank on the Seebpore side, opposite to the Fort, was formed by the sinking of a ship named the *Sumatra*, and hence named the Sumatra Sand. In consequence of this bank, the deep channel of the river ways diverted from its original course to the Calcutta side.

Kidderpore was called after Colonel Kyd, an enterprising European, the chief engineer on the Company's military establishment ; his two East Indian sons were the famous ship-builders. In 1818 was launched from this dock, the *Hastings*, a 74-gun ship.

Facing Alipore Bridge is Belvedere, once the favourite residence of Warren Hastings, but during the latter period of his residence he erected another house further south. He is said to have hunted tigers in its neighbourhood, which is very probable, considering the state of other places at that time. Mrs. Fay, in 1780, describes Belvedere as "a perfect bijou, most superbly fitted up with all that unbounded affluence can display." Stavorinus mentions visiting Belvedere in 1768, when the then Governor of Bengal resided there.

Jessop's Foundry was established by Mr. Jessop, who came out in 1700. He was sent by the Home Government to make an iron bridge for the King of Lucknow, and after having completed the work for which he was sent, he returned to Calcutta and commenced his foundry.

The Bengal Club was established in Calcutta in the early part of 1827.

Street Nomenclature

Park Street, so called because it led to Sir E. Impey's Park, was in 1794 called by the name of the Burial Ground Road, it being the route for burials from town to the Circular Road burial ground. It is remarked—"All funeral processions are concealed as much as possible from the sight

of the ladies, that the vivacity of their tempers may not be wounded."

Durumtollah was formerly called "The Avenue," as it led from town to the Salt Water Lake and the adjacent country. It was then a "well raised causeway, raised by deepening the ditch on either side," with wretched huts on the south side, while on the north a creek ran through a street, still called Creek Row, through the Wellington Square tank, down to Chandpaul Ghaut. Large boats could navigate it. There were trees on both sides on the road. Durumtollah (or Dharmatala) is so called from a great mosque, afterwards pulled down, which was on the site of what was long known as Cook's stables. The "Karbela," a famous Musalman assemblage, which now meets in the Circular Road, used then to congregate at that mosque, and by its local sanctity the street took its name of Dharmatola or Holy street. The Durumtollah Bazar occupies the site of the residence of Colonel De Glass, Superintendent of the Gun Manufactory, which was afterwards removed to Cossipore. David Brown, the eminent Minister of the Old Church, occupied Colonel De Glass' house, in which he kept a boarding school. Among Mr. Brown's pupils were Sir Robert Grant, afterwards Governor of Bombay, and Lord Glenelg.

Cossitollah (now Bentinck) Street, leading from Durumtollah into old Calcutta, was named after the "Kasai" or butchers, dealers in goats and cows' flesh, who formerly occupied it as their quarter. In 1757 Cossitollah was a mass of jungle and even as late as 1780, it was almost impassable from mud in the rains. In Upjohn's map of Calcutta in 1792, only two or three houses are marked in this locality, of which one was that of Charles Grant, which was situated in Grant's Lane, which takes its name from that circumstance. In 1788 Mr. Mackinnon opened a school in Cossitollah.

Lall Bazar is mentioned by Holwell, in 1738, as a famous bazar. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, states it to have been the best street in Calcutta, "full of little shabby-looking shops called Boutiques, kept by black people." It then stretched from the Custom House to Baitakhana. In 1770

Europeans and others here retailed "pariah arrack to the great debauchery of the soldiers." In 1788 Sir William Jones refers to the nuisance here of low taverns, kept by Italians, Spanish and Portuguese.

The road from Lall Bazar to the Old Church was formerly named the "Rope Walk," and was the scene of hard fighting at the time of the siege of Calcutta in 1756.

Old Court House Street, parallel with Mission Row, is so named from the old Court House, or Town Hall, which stood at the northern extremity of the street on the site of St. Andrew's Church. The Charity School boys were lodged and fed here previous to the battle of Plassey. The Charity School, which was the first in Calcutta, then contained twenty children. The Court House was erected about 1727, by Mr. Bourchier, a merchant. In 1734. Mr. Bourchier gave over the house to Government, on condition of their supporting the charity. Lectures were occasionally given in this old Town Hall. Stavorinus writes of this place in 1776 :—"Over the Court House are two handsome assembly rooms. In one of these are hung up the portraits of the King of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the English from Chandernagore, when they took that place."

Baitakhana Street received its name from the famous old tree that stood here, and formed a *baitakhana* or resting-place for the merchants who traded with Calcutta, and whose caravans rested under its shade. Job Charnock is said to have chosen the site of Calcutta for a city, in consequence of the pleasure he found in sitting and smoking under the shade of a large tree; this tree was probably the Baitakhana tree. "Here the merchants met to depart in bodies from Calcutta, to protect each other from robbers in the neighbouring jungle, and here they dispersed when they arrived at Calcutta with merchandise, for the factory." This tree finds a place in Upjohn's map of 1794. A car of Jugunnath, seventy feet high, formerly stood near to the big tree, and a thanna or guard-house was located under the branches of the tree.

The first reference to the road on the river bank, on which the galaxy of Calcutta are wont to take their morn-

ing and evening drives, we find in a letter from Mrs. Kindersley in 1768, where she says—"A little out of town is a clear airy spot, free from smoke, or any encumbrances, called the "Corse" (because it is a road, the length of a corse [*koss*] or two miles) in a sort of ring, or rather angle, made on purpose to take the air in, which the company frequent in their carriages about sunset, or in the morning before the sun is up." An old song states that those who frequented it, "swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one of fresh air." The recreation then was "in chaises or by palankeens, in the fields or to gardens."

In 1823 the Strand Road was formed, which led to a great sanitary improvement, though it injured the ship-builders, who had docks in Clive Street, and were obliged to remove to Howrah and Sulkea.

The continuation of the Strand Road to Garden Reach was commenced in the early part of 1828. The expense was estimated at about a lakh-and-a-half of rupees, which it was hoped to cover by a toll on carriages and passengers going over the bridge across the mouth of Tolly's Nullah.

Aga Kerbulin Mahommed, who had already strikingly evinced his liberality and public spirit by a handsome contribution for the extension of the Strand Road to Garden Reach in the early part of 1829, contributed ten thousand rupees for the purpose of erecting a steam engine on the river at Bagh Bazar Ghaut during the dry season.

Between Government House and Garden Reach is a broad open plain, about 150 acres in extent, called the Esplanade (Hindustani, *maidan*). It is laid out with fine broad macadamized roads, bordered with trees: the space between the roads is plain turf. Along the river's bank are the Eden Gardens, where is seen, in the evenings, the great show of fashionables out for the purpose of enjoying a drive—"eating the air" (*howa-khana*) as the Indians express it.

Tank (now Dalhousie) Square, covers upwards of twenty-five acres of ground, and was in the last century, "in the middle of the city." Stavorinus states—"It was dug by order of Government to provide the inhabitants of Calcutta with water, which is very sweet and pleasant.

The number of springs, which it contains, makes the water in it nearly always on the same level. It is railed round ; no one may wash in it." At what time this tank was dug, we cannot ascertain. Hamilton wrote in 1702 that the Governor "has a handsome house in the Fort : the Company has also a pretty good garden, that furnishes the Governor herbage and fruits at table, and some fish ponds to serve his kitchen with good carp, callops and mullet." Perhaps the tank was one of the fish ponds, and the garden may have formed the Park or Tank Square. The tank was cleansed and embanked in Warren Hastings' time. The name of the Park was originally "The Green before the Fort," and afforded the residents of the fort a place for recreation and amusement.

Wellington Square tank was excavated in 1822. It was one of the good works of the Lottery Committee.

Chowringhee is a place of modern creation, having been chosen by the people of Calcutta as a garden retreat. In 1768 there were here a few European country houses ; this part of the city was considered "out of town," and palkee-bearers charged double fares for going to it ; while, at night, "servants returned from it in parties, having left their good clothes behind through fear of dacoits, which infested the outskirts of Chowringhee." There were once only two houses there. One was Sir Elijah Impey's, the very house since occupied as the Nunnery, a third storey only being added to it. On the site of the nunnery church was a tank called Gole Talao ; the surrounding quarter was Impey's park, which stretched to Chowringhee Road on the west, and to Park Street on the north ; an avenue of trees led through what is now Middleton Street into Park Street from his house, which was surrounded by a fine wall, a large tank being in front, and plenty of rooms for a deer-park. A guard of sepoys was allowed to patrol about the house and grounds at night, occasionally firing off their muskets to keep off the dacoits. The other house was what was afterwards St. Paul's school. In 1794 the residences in Chowringhee had increased to twenty-four, scattered between Durrumtollah and Brijetalao, the Circular Road and the Plain.

Ghauts or Landing Places

Colvin's Ghaut was formerly called the *Kutchra Gooddee* Ghaut, or the place for careening country boats. They were hauled up on the banks of a narrow canal which ran through the town from this point to the Salt Water Lake. It was filled up, and no trace of it is to be seen except in the old maps. It was on the bank of this creek, on the spot afterwards occupied by the Bengal Secretariat, that the southern battery of the old fort was thrown up in 1756.

In the immediate vicinity of Colvin's Ghaut is the Police Ghaut, now adorned by the Metcalfe Hall, and there, in ancient times, before the capture of Calcutta, stood the house and ground of the President. The garden appears to have extended from the river to Tank (now Dalhousie) Square, then called the Park. A neat gateway terminated the Governor's garden in front of the Park, and it was from this gateway that he is described as walking down to the church, which stood at the western end of the Writers' Buildings, doubtless after his worthy masters had informed him, in 1728, that if he wanted a chaise and pair he must pay for them himself.

Coelah (or *Koila*) Ghaut was formerly known as the New Wharf, and the old Custom House arose immediately above it. This ghaut stood at the southern extremity of the old Fort and marks the northern limit of that fortress.

Chandpal Ghaut lies near the steam engine which so long supplied with water the aqueducts from which some of the streets were watered. Tradition connects the appellation of the ghaut with an Indian of the name of Chandru Pal, who kept a little grocer's shop in its immediate vicinity. This is the spot where India welcomes and bids adieu to her rulers. It is here that the Governors-General, the Commanders-in-Chief, the Judges of the Supreme (now High) Court, the Bishops, and all who are entitled to the honors of a salute from the ramparts of Fort William, first set foot in the metropolis. It is not noticed in Joseph's Map of 1756, but we know that it was in existence in 1774 when Francis and his companions landed here, having had their sweet tempers soured by a five days' voyage from Kedgerree. It was here that the author of *Junius* counted

one by one the guns, which boomed from the Fort, and found to his mortification that their number did not exceed seventeen, when he expected nineteen. And it was here that first Judges of the Supreme Court, who came out to redress the wrongs of India, landed. It was here, that the Chief Justice, as he contemplated the bare legs and feet of the multitude who crowded to witness his advent, exclaimed to his colleague, "See, brother, the wretched victims of tyranny. The Crown Court was not surely established before it was needed. I trust it will not have been in operation six months before we shall see these poor creatures comfortably clothed in shoes and stockings."

Prinsep's Ghaut, which is situated under the south-west angle of Fort William, was erected by public subscription to perpetuate the memory of James Prinsep, one of the most eminent men of his day, who after a short and brilliant career, fell a sacrifice to his ardour in the pursuit of science. It is a huge and ugly pile, on which a large sum was expended without taste or judgment. Its locality is as objectionable as its architecture. It is entirely out of the way of public convenience, and is seldom used as a landing-stairs. The most memorable event connected with it is the departure of Lord Ellenborough, who instead of embarking, as all his predecessors had done, at Chandpal Ghaut, thought fit to gratify his military predilections by driving with his cortege through the Fort, and taking his farewell of Calcutta on the steps of Prinsep's Ghaut.

Places of Note in the Immediate Vicinity

Upwards of a century and-a-half ago, Barrackpore and its precincts formed the Tusulum of that old Anglo-Indian patriarch, Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta. He used to come hither, not so much to avoid the dust and bother of his bustling capital, as to be near the grave where there rested one with whom his heart still beat in sympathy. This is in allusion to his wife—a Hindoo woman, whom he had espoused after rescuing from burning on the funeral pile of her deceased husband.

Titaghur, about a mile and half distant from Barrackpore, was once a scene of life and activity, about eighty years ago. Messrs. Hamilton and Aberdeen, enterprizing

merchants of Calcutta, established a dockyard there at the beginning of the present century, and in 1801, the largest merchantman ever built on the Hooghly, the *Countess of Sutherland*, of 1445 tons, was launched there. The next year the *Susan*, of humbler dimensions, was built there, and in 1803, the *Frederick* of 450 tons. This appears to have been the last vessel constructed at the Titaghur dockyard, which was soon after closed, and of which not a single vestige now remains. A stone's throw from the site of the old dockyard is a ghaut with some dilapidated temples above it, which is still remembered as the place where for thirty years Dr. Carey landed and embarked as he went down to Calcutta and returned from it twice a week, to deliver lectures in Fort William College.

Barrackpore Park was created by the taste and public spirit of Lord Wellesley, seventy years ago, and to which all subsequent Governors-General have retired from the noise and bustle of the town to rural privacy. It was originally the intention of Lord Wellesley to have brought all the public offices up from Calcutta and established them in the vicinity of the Park. It was with this object that he erected a large bungalow, on the site of the present house, for a temporary residence, and near it he laid the foundation of a palace which was to have cost four lakhs of rupees. But the Court of Directors peremptorily prohibited the outlay of so large a sum on such an object, and the work was suspended, after the basement storey had been erected. The beams, doors, and windows, and all the other materials, which had been collected, were sold by auction; but the shell of the house stood for many years, till the Marchioness of Hastings pulled it down, and erected a conservatory on its site. The temporary bungalow, which Lord Wellesley had erected, served the turn of Lord Minto, who spent much of his time at Barrackpore with his family, but the Marquis of Hastings enlarged it into the present more commodious mansion.

As a specimen of architecture, the Barrackpore palace has scarcely any claims to excellence. The Marquis Wellesley had originally commenced this building with the intention of making it a suitable abode of one who had

subverted the throne of Tippoo, humbled the power of the Mahrattas, and numbered among his proteges the Great Mogul of Delhi. The house is adorned with some excellent portraits of the royal family of Oude, from the pencil of Mr. Home.

Barrackpore is known by the natives only by the name of *Chanuck*, from the circumstance of Charnock having established a bungalow there and gathered a little bazar around it. Troops were first stationed at Barrackpore in 1772, and from that time forward it has acquired the barbarous name of Barrackpore among Europeans, an unnatural compound of an English word and a Sanskrit termination.

Turning round the bed of the river at Barrackpore we come to the village of Muneerampore, at the northern end of which is the house and garden once occupied by General Marley, long the father of the Indian Army, who arrived in India in the year 1771, and died in 1842, after a residence of seventy-one years in it.

North of Cossipore lies Barnagore, well dotted with brick houses, which indicate the remains of that opulence which grew up with the commercial establishments of the Dutch. During the greater part of the last century this settlement belonged to them, and here their vessels anchored on their way to Chinsurah. It is said to have been originally a Portuguese establishment. It was a place of considerable trade when Calcutta was the abode of wild beasts.

To the north of Dukhinsore lies the Powder Magazine. More than twenty lakhs of rupees have been expended in the erection of steam-engines and country houses, in the space between Dukhinsore and the Chitpore Canal, in a range of less than three miles.

Sook Saugor was formerly at a considerable distance from the river, which has of late made fearful encroachment, and has not left a vestige of the magnificent house of the Revenue Board that cost a lakh and-half in its erection. The Marquis of Cornwallis and suite used often in the hot weather to retire to it, as it was the government country-seat before the establishment of Barrackpore. The house

of Mr. Barretto, and a Roman Catholic Chapel erected by him in 1789, at a cost of 9,000 rupees, have also been washed away. Mr. Barretto here had a rum distillery in 1792, as also sugar works ; in his time the place was called Chota Calcutta. On Clive passing Sook Saugor, a small battery there gave him a salute, he imagining it to be an enemy's entrenchment, ordered it to be dismantled. On the courts being removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta in 1772, the Revenue Board was fixed there, as it was thought more suitable than Calcutta, from being in the country. Forster in 1789, gives the following description of Sook Saugor :—"Sook Saugor is a valuable and rising plantation, the property of Messrs. Crofts and Lennox ; and these gentlemen have established at this place a fabric of white cloth, of which the Company provide an annual investment of two lakhs of rupees ; they have also founded a raw silk manufactory, which as it bears the appearance of increase and improvement, will, I hope, reward the industrious, estimable labours of its proprietors." The encroachments of the river, together with the formation of a large bazar at Chagda, a short distance north of the town, have led to the decay of Sook Saugor, which owed much of its prosperity to Mr. Barretto, who made many roads there, planted with *neem* trees on both sides, which remain to this day.

CHAPTER VII

AMUSEMENTS

Public Entertainments

PUNCH houses and taverns, where entertainments were usual, began to be rather numerous in Lall Bazar as early as 1780, even while the "Harmonic" was in its zenith. Howksworth mentions,—“I was, en passant, shown a tavern, called the London Hotel, where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold mohur a head, exclusive of the dessert and wines. At the coffee-houses your single dish of coffee costs you a rupee (half a crown) ; which half a crown, however, franks you to the perusal of the English newspapers, which are regularly arranged on a file, as in London ; together with the *Calcutta Advertiser*, the *Calcutta Chronicle*, &c., &c., and, for the honor of Calcutta, be it recorded, that the two last named publications are, what the English prints formerly were, moral, amusing and intelligent.” The chief strangers that came to Calcutta and visited the hotels, were the captains of the Indiamen, great personages in their day.

“Vauxhall and Fireworks, at Cossinaut Baboo’s Garden House, in the Durrumtollah ;” so runs the heading of an advertisement by Mr. Gairard, on the 4th December, 1788 —“Mr. Gairard does himself the pleasure to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen of Calcutta, that his Vauxhall Exhibition of Fireworks will commence this day, Thursday, the 4th instant, by a grand display entitled ‘The Garden of Pleasure.’ The detached pieces that precede the grand display are of a new invention, and very curious. The first of which will exhibit The Compliments. The Garden is laid out in very great order, with the additional advantage of new walks, all covered in, to protect the company from the vapours of the evening, and when illuminated, will afford a very pleasing *coup d’œil*. The fireworks will commence at eight o’clock precisely. Mr. Gairard has

likewise fitted up several large boxes for the reception of families who may wish to be accommodated by themselves, at 60 sicca rupees each, with refreshments included."

"The celebration of His Majesty's recovery from his late unfortunate malady took place on the 28th July, 1789, and no means within the power of the inhabitants of this settlement were withheld to demonstrate their joy on the occasion"—so wrote the editor of the *Gazette*. Royal salutes, and *feux de joie* were fired, and in the evening the town of Calcutta and suburbs were illuminated, and the whole concluded with a concert and supper given by the Right Honorable the Governor General. We give the *Gazette's* description of the illuminations:—"The Old Court House, the Government House, the great tank, and the two principal streets leading north and south to the Esplanade, were adorned by Mr. Gairard, well known for his skill in this mode of embellishment; and though the causes mentioned (a heavy fall of rain and repeated showers afterwards) prevented, in a great degree, the general effect that would have attended his plans had the weather been favorable, many parts of them, the Old Court House and the Government House in particular, afforded an admirable display of beauty and magnificence. Besides these the illuminations of individuals were abundant, and would, had not the weather proved unfavorable, have exhibited a most extensive, if not universal, blaze of splendour over the European part of the town. "God save the King"—"Long live the King"—"Vive le Roi"—"Vivant Rex et Regina"—and other loyal mottos shone in all quarters, and the following in the house of the Accountant General demanded particular attention.—"The King trusteth in the Lord and in the Mercy of the most High, he shall not be moved"—"He asked life of Thee and Thou gavest him it"—"Thou knowest that the Lord saveth His anointed."

"[ADVERTISEMENT.] Mr. Stuart has desired it to be signified (through the channel of this paper) to the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, that the Old Court House appearing, on a survey, not to be in a condition to admit of the safe accommodation of the usual company, he is obliged to deny himself the pleasure of meeting them at the

customary periods of the approaching season, *November 22nd, 1791.*" In the following year (1792), we find this gentleman had his parties at the Theatre. He requests the favor of their company (the gentlemen in the Honorable Company's Civil and Military Services) to a concert and supper, on the 23rd April, "to celebrate the national success in the late war and the happy restoration of peace."

On the celebration of His Majesty's birthday, a ball and supper were given at the Theatre on the 6th December, 1792, when the ball was opened by Lady Jones, wife of Sir William Jones, the eminent orientalist.

We note this incident only to allude to a reminiscence, given by the editor of the "Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes," lately published. "The late Mr. Blaquiere, magistrate of the town of Calcutta, and interpreter in the late Supreme Court, who died in 1852, at the age of 90 and upwards, used to talk of having danced a minute with Lady Jones, as a young man."

Nautches used to be given at the different Hindoo houses at the Doorga Poojas. The most popular of the Hindoo gentlemen was "Sookmoy Roy," at whose house "two large swing punkhas were kept constantly in motion, to keep the room cool. Here (in 1792) a novelty was introduced in the Pooja ceremonies, namely, a combination of English airs with the Hindostanee songs." This innovation seems not to have succeeded, "owing to the indifferent skill of the musicians."

One writer noticing the subject says, "but the favourite simple air of *Malbrook* was played so as to be immediately distinguishable."

"The majority of company crowded to Raja Nabkissen's where several mimics attempted to imitate the manners of different nations."

Those were times (1792) when the expenditure of money was thought little of, a gold mohur passing almost as a rupee in value.

We see an advertisement of tickets for a ball at Mrs. Le Gallais' rooms for sale at one gold mohur each. On the occasion of a subscription being got up for the building of a Edinburgh University, Lord Cornwallis gave 3,000

sicca rupees, Honorable C. Stuart, 2,000 sicca rupees, and so on—one small list, showing a total of subscriptions of over 30,000 rupees.

On the 6th February, 1792, was achieved the great victory to the British arms at Seringapatam, and on the anniversary of that day (1793) a superb entertainment was given at the Calcutta Theatre, by the principal gentlemen of the Civil Establishment to Lord Cornwallis and a numerous company.

Here is a description of the gorgeous illumination on that occasion :—"The whole front of the Theatre was completely illuminated, by which means, independent of the grand effect of the profusion of lamps, any embarrassment in arriving at the doors was entirely prevented, though the crowd of spectators, palanquins, &c., was of course immense ; and facing the front was a very large transparent painting by Mr. Devis, from a drawing by Lieutenant Conyngham, of the 76th, exhibiting the storm of Bangalore by the British troops on the night of the 21st March, 1791.

At the western entrance of the room, the boxes and gallery were overhung with splendid canopies of silk in the form of tents, between which were erected a variety of banners, helmets, and military trophies ; amongst which one in the centre bore the coronet of the Earl, and at different spaces the Company's crest was fixed on sable escutcheons. The eastern end of the great room was also decorated with martial ornaments, and over the centre of them appeared a brilliant star. The banners represented the colors of every regiment that was at the siege, and beneath them were reversed the flags of Tippoo Sultan. There were also two large banners, charged, the one with the royal arms, and the other with the arms of the Company. In front of the eastern door of the house was a grand transparent view of Seringapatam, by Messrs. Devis and Solwyns, from a drawing of Lieutenant Colebrooke. Over the windows were light transparent views of the principal forts taken from the enemy, Ossore, Ryacotta, Nanadroog, Severndroog, Oottradroog, Ramgery, and Shivagery, painted by Mr. Solwyns, from drawings of Lieutenant Colebrooke. The ceiling was beautifully decorated with flowers, laurels, and

foil, which also were profusely twined around the pillars. A number of most elegant lustres were suspended from the roof, and the walls were ornamented with splendid mirrors. The benches were covered with crimson silk, and gold and silver fringes. At 11 o'clock the ball commenced with a figure dance very elegantly performed by the following ladies : Mrs. Haldane, Mrs. Montgomery, Mrs. Hewett, Mrs. Barlow, Mrs. Peter Murray, Mrs. Collins, Miss Mackintosh and Miss Frail. Each lady was dressed in a uniform of white satin, with gold fringe, and a bandeau with the words "6th of February" inscribed on it. Lord Cornwallis was present, as was His Highness the Nawab Saadut Aly, and his son, together with several foreigners of distinction ; the company was extremely numerous, and appeared to feel the highest satisfaction on the occasion."

A few days after (27th March 1793) the senior *military* officers gave a ball and supper at the Theatre in commemoration of the peace of Seringapatam. The decorations of the rooms were so different from those on the occasion alluded to above, that we cannot pass them over without some notice :—"The appearance of the Theatre, on entering it, was at once magnificent and chaste, splendid, yet not glaring. The eye, after contemplating the double range of pillars which were decorated with white foil, and entwined with spiral wreaths of roses, was struck with a representation of the temple of Janus placed in the recess, which terminated the view, and excited the attention by this appropriate inscription—"Cludor, ne temere Paream !"

On each side of the vestibule in the approach to the temple were placed in basso-relievo the busts of Augustus and of Trajan ; above that of the former emperor was represented the restoration of the Roman standards and eagles, which had been seized from Crassus ; above the bust of Trajan, the Dacian chief was represented imploring the clemency of his imperial conqueror.

The floor of the vestibule was painted in imitation of variegated marble. At the east end of the great room, were the whole length figures of Justice and Fortitude ; at the west, of Peace and Plenty. Over the entrance of the room

a music gallery was erected, in front of which, on a medalion, in attitudes at once beautiful and correct, were printed the Graces, and on each side of them, in different compartments, the emblematic figures of Music and the Dances." We need not describe the entertainment as it was very similar to the other noted above.

On the King's birthday, 3rd December 1793, "a party of gentlemen dined with Sir John Shore at the Government House, among whom were the Governor of Chinsurah, Chief of Serampore, &c.

In the evening the ball and supper at the Theatre were very numerously attended; the ball was opened by Mrs. Chapman and Sir George Leith, and the minutes continued till near 12 o'clock, when the company retired to a very elegant supper.

After supper country-dances commenced, and were continued with great spirit till 4 o'clock in the morning," and it is added—"We observed with much pleasure for the first time several Armenian ladies and gentlemen joining in the dance." It seems strange to us that the dance should have been given in the Theatre while the dinner was given at Government House.

At the St. Andrew's Dinner, which was held at the Theatre in 1794, and whereat a very numerous party were gathered, the usual loyal and other toasts were drunk, and then followed these two unique toasts—"May the British constitution pervade the earth and trample anarchy under foot," and "May the British empire in all its parts ever exhibit the same harmony and unanimity that animate the present company." The *Mirror* had no need to tell us, that at this time "the bottle had a rapid circulation."

A grand musical entertainment was given in the *New Church* on the 27th of February 1797, for the benefit of the Free School Society, when a selection from the works of Handel was given, and a thousand tickets were sold, which essentially benefited the charity. The performance commenced at a little after 7 and ended a little before 11 o'clock.

"New Public Rooms, Tank Square," seem to have been opened in the autumn of 1798, and the first assembly

of the public for dances, &c., took place on the 13th November, 1798.

"The commemoration of the glorious and memorable battle of Assaye was celebrated on *Sunday*, the 23rd September, 1804, at the Government House, where a grand dinner was given to the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, the members of Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court, Major-General Wellesley, the Envoy from Bagdad, and to all the principal civil and military officers and British inhabitants of Calcutta. The toasts of :—Major-General Wellesley ; the Army of the Deccan and the memory of the battle of Assaye ; with our illustrious Commander-in-Chief, and the Army in Hindustan, were drank with enthusiasm. The bands of the Governor General and of His Majesty's 22nd Regiment played martial airs during the entertainment ; and at sunset, a royal salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William, in honor of the battle of Assaye. *The Governor General and Major-General Wellesley attended divine service in the morning of the 23rd at the Old Church, when a sermon suitable to the occasion was preached by the Reverend Mr. Brown.*" We have italicised a portion of this information, showing how our rulers were accustomed to combine the outward forms of religion with conviviality. No wonder if such desecration of the Sabbath was practised in high places, that was little of the vitality of religion among the general public.

On the 11th September 1807, being the anniversary of the battle of Delhi, a splendid entertainment was given in "the new Theatre at Barrackpore," at which were present the Right Hon'ble Lord Minto, the Governor General, General St. Leger and Staff, the whole of the officers and ladies at the station, and a numerous party of visitors from Calcutta.

We note this assemblage only to remark on the strange airs played by the band on certain of the toasts of the evening :—"The Queen and Royal Family" was followed by the air—*Merrily danced the Quaker's wife* ; "The Hon'ble East India Company," by *Money in both pockets*, and "Lord Wellesley," by *St. Patrick's day in the morning*.

Punkhas though they had come into fashion, appear

not to have been in *general* use in Calcutta up to the present time, for, in an advertisement by Mr. Lathrop, who announces a series of lectures on Mechanics at Moor's Rooms, that gentleman "having been informed that some ladies and gentlemen have declined to subscribe to his lectures, on account of the warmth of the season, begs leave to assure them that the rooms are rendered cool and comfortable by means of punkhas, and that those who attended the introductory lecture, declared that they suffered no inconvenience from the heat of the weather, or the state of the air in the spacious and airy hall in which they were assembled." This was in May 1808.

The following extraordinary scene occurred at a entertainment given by Sir Charles Metcalfe on the 21st December, 1827, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General and the Countess Amherst.

"The company amounted to about 400 persons, comprising all the rank, beauty and fashion of Calcutta. In the course of the evening, a group of visitors made their appearance in the proper costume of the principal characters in Shakespeare's plays, led on by *Prospero*, and the rear brought up by *Dogberry*. On reaching the gorgeous pavilion where the Governor-General and his party were seated, *Prospero* delivered an appropriate address.

The several personages in the group then mixed in the dance, exhibiting sundry amusing anachronisms. *Falstaff* led out a fashionable beauty of the *ancienne regime*. The Ghost of *Hamlet* too might be observed holding converse with *Titania*, until scared a little by the sudden appearance of *Bottom*, who just brayed his approbation on the scene and then vanished. *Shylock* also, for a moment, forgot his bond and spoke to some lady whom he recognised; while *Henry VIII* addressed *Lady Percy*, and *Anna Boleyn* replied to some remark of *Dr. Caius*, who did not at all appear surprised to see *Oberon* treading on the toes of the vernacular *Dogberry*, or the haughty *Wolsey* holding a long confab with a jolly carter."

Dancing

Notice is given for a series of "assemblies" to be held at the "Harmonic House," once a week in November, 1784!

This seems to have been the commencement of *public* gaieties in Calcutta.

On the appearance of this announcement, the proprietors of the "London Tavern" advertise a series of similar "assemblies" at their house :—"They flatter themselves with the hopes of some encouragement and support from a generous public, when they solemnly declare that they did not know that the Harmonic House would be again opened as a tavern, when they contracted with a builder, about two months ago to erect a large and commodious Assembly Room, 96 feet long and 36 feet wide, and which the builder has engaged to finish by the 14th November next. In case the room shall not appear to be sufficiently dry, they humbly hope the subscribers will be contented with their present rooms, one of which is 68 feet by 22, for a short time."

"They have contracted with a person to supply them with oysters;" from which it would appear that oysters formed a regular and favourite refreshment with visitors to such places of amusement. At the Harmonic it is notified—"No hookahs to be admitted upstairs."

The following strange and curious rules for the first of a series of subscription dances at the Calcutta Theatre (1792) will amuse our readers :—" (1) That minutes be danced on the nights of dress assemblies only. (2) That ladies be taken out to dance minuets according to the rank their husbands hold in the King's or Hon'ble Company's service. (3) That ladies whose husbands are not in the King's or Hon'ble Company's service, be taken out to dance minuets in the order they come into the room, and that this regulation hold good with regard to unmarried ladies. (In preservation of this rule, ladies are to receive tickets as they enter the room.) (4) That all ladies draw lots for places in country dances. (5) That any lady allowing the first couple to pass the place corresponding with the number of her ticket shall stand the last couple for that dance. (6) That ladies having gone down a country dance shall stand up for all the couples who are to follow, or not dance any more that night. (7) That hookers be not admitted to the ball room during any part of the night. (But

hookers might be admitted to the supper rooms, to the card rooms, to the boxes in the theatre, and to each side of the assembly room, between the large pillars and the walls.)”

A ball in India is a different affair from the same scene in England.

“In the first place, the company includes no old ladies—at least, of the softer sex ; for doubtless there are the usual proportion in breeches. The absence of elderly persons in Indian society, is one of the first things that strike a new arrival. At a certain age, people usually leave the country, and thus there is always a degree of youthfulness about the company one meets. But, strange to say, young unmarried ladies are as scarce as old ones, and naturally more in demand : consequently, a lady’s dancing days last as long as she remains in India, and a man has the satisfaction of seeing the mother of his six children as much in request, even among young sparks, as before he married her, while any damsel not yet wedded has as many partners on hand as she could accommodate in a week. Hence the light fantastic toe has enough to do, and has to keep up the steam to the end of the chapter.

Fortunately the ball rooms are expressly adapted for such efforts, being lofty, spacious, and airy, windows open on every side, and ventilation facilitated by a hundred-punkah power. A white cloth, coated with French chalk, covers the floor and affords a smooth surface for the feet. Among the male portion of the company there is a great predominance of uniforms, while the toilettes of the ladies are of the most expensive kind, and, there being no lack of lights, the whole forms a brilliant scene.”

One of the prizes held out to a young lady on reaching India, as open to all comers, was “three hundred a year, dead or alive,” which passed into a proverb and was stamped on the damsel’s brow as plain as print. The meaning was that by marrying a member of the Civil Service, she secured a husband with at least £300 a year, and at his death, would be entitled to a pension from the Civil Fund to the same amount. The latter provision, however, was contingent on the husband having served a certain period ;

and, on one occasion, this fact was communicated to a lady at a grand dinner just after her marriage, when she could not conceal her disappointment, but called across the table to her husband—"John, John, it's a *do* after all : it is a *do*."

In 1793, we find that ladies were accustomed to dance from 9 in the evening till 5 o'clock in the morning—and at the beginning of the present century, the ladies, according to Lord Valentia, were in the habit not unfrequently of dancing themselves into the grave.

"Consumptions," he writes, "are very frequent among the ladies, which I attribute, in a great measure, to their incessant dancing even during the hottest weather. After such violent exercise they go into the verandas and expose themselves to a cool breeze and damp atmosphere."

"ADVERTISEMENT.—Mr. Macdonald presents his respects to the ladies and gentlemen amateurs of dancing, and informs them that he will instruct any lady or gentleman, who are in the habit of dancing, in the fashionable Scotch step, and its application to country dancing, for sicca rupees 100. Besides the fashionable step, the atheletic and agile, may be taught a variety of Scotch steps, equally elegant, but more difficult in the execution, for an additional charge" (1795).

"ADVERTISEMENT.—Subscription Concert. As Mr. Oehme finds the rules concerning his concerts are not generally understood in the settlement, he takes this method to prevent any further mistake. Seven ladies, scholars of Mr. Oehme, have each a separate list ; and upon one or the other of those lists the name of every subscriber is entered. The subscription is 80 sicca rupees ; and the ladies of the families of subscribers are invited by tickets, with their names upon them ; but neither these nor subscribers' tickets are transferable. Any lady may, by entering her name in one of the lists, become a subscriber for any number of visiting tickets, at 100 sicca rupees each ; and such visiting tickets, having the subscribing lady's name on them, become transferable either to a lady or a gentleman."

"The General Management of the Bengal Military Orphan Society," says an advertisement in the *Gazette* of the 1st November, 1810, "having found occasion to form

some arrangements for the better regulation of the monthly dance given by the society to the daughters of officers at the Kidderpore school, notice is hereby given that no person whomsoever will, in future, be admitted to this entertainment without producing a printed card of invitation." Then follows an intimation of the parties admissible and where cards could be obtained. These entertainments were held twice a month, and were the means by which many of the young people were enabled to get married to members of both services.

Dignity Ball in 1829

Occasionally a Calcutta paper contains an advertisement to the effect that Mr. Higgs, or Mrs. Ramsbottom, or some such worthy, will give a grand masked ball at his or her house in Cossitollah, or any other less respectable quarter;—"tickets of admission, three rupees each—masks, dominos, and fancy dresses to be procured on the premises." Here is a description of one of these balls, taken from the *United Service Journal* :—

"An inquisitive stranger may perhaps feel an inclination to gratify his curiosity as to the style of entertainment, and the calibre of the guests who honor it with their presence. In such case he might, at nine or ten o'clock in the evening, induct himself into a palankeen, and hie him to the scene of action; and, if a prudent man, he will not fail to have brought as his companion a small switch, not much more than half as thick as his wrist. On obtaining admittance he will glide into an anteroom, where an accommodating attendant will, for a consideration of two rupees, purvey unto him a mask and domino.

"Ascending to the ball-room, he will find it lighted by a profusion of tallow candles in lustres and girandoles, and furnished with green baize benches, and a varied assortment of chairs, probably purchased separately, at as many auctions (or *outcries*, to use the Anglo-Indian term) as there may be chairs in the room. The music will consist of two violins, a tambourine, and if you are in luck, a triangle will be added thereto. The performers, like all wandering minstrels, will, to a certainty, be deaf, blind, or lame.

"I have spoken of the lighting, furniture, and music ; it now only remains to notice the company ; and a goodly one it is. The majority consists of half-caste clerks, and the lowest *uncovenanted* servants of the Honorable Company, fancy men, and other ornaments of the Calcutta punch-houses, with a liberal contribution of mates and apprentices from the merchant ships in port. Curiosity has perhaps attracted in disguise a stray writer, or youthful tyro in the civil service, and probably an adventurous ensign, or hair-brained cadet from the South Barracks, all well satisfied that they are clothed in an impenetrable incognito. Of the females who enliven this select coterie, I must in justice say, that they are exactly in the sphere which they are alone calculated to grace and adorn. The fun now grows fast and furious ; quadrille and boisterous country-dance (here unexploded) succeed each other with exhausting rapidity. In these happy regions flirtations are briskly carried on, unfettered by the argus eyes of cautious mammas or veteran chaperons ; the only *contretemps* arising from the mischievousness and impudence of some aspiring son of Mars, who pertinaciously provokes the *black* looks and angry mutterings of an enamoured quill-driver.

"At length appears the host, a red-faced individual, with lank hair, and a corpulent person, who might be mistaken indiscriminately for a retired prize-fighter, or a *ci-devant* proprietor of a disreputable ham and beef shop. This prepossessing specimen of the genus homo perpetrates his best bow, and informs the "ladies and gen'lm'n" that supper is ready. Hereupon ensues a scramble towards that apartment, where entertainment hath been amply provided for the *convives*. Seats being taken, and order in some degree restored, there is a call by some presiding plebeian, a would-be *arbiter elegantiarum*, for the "gentlemen to be pleased to remove their masks"—a measure intended, I suppose, as a sort of test of the respectability of the company. This condition, however, is resisted by some scrupulous sprig of Calcutta aristocracy, who shudders at the possibility of recognition, whereupon every symptom of a row presents itself until the voracity of the proposer and his canaille supporters induces them to yield the point, rather

than see the supper devoured before their eyes by that wiser section of the guests who have taken no part in the dispute, prompted by a judicious resolution to employ their teeth rather than their tongue.

"Now the work of demolition proceeds in good earnest. An interesting-looking animal in a blue-jacket bedizened with tawdry lace, who chances to be your *vis-a-vis* at table, begs that he may 'ave the honour of elping you to a little am," coaxing you to compliance by an assurance that it shall be cut 'wery thin.' Meantime the fair object of his attentions, seated at his side, is discussing with silent rapidity a plateful of cold tongue, with the unusual adjunct of blanchmange, a novel mixture, which she has either approved by experience, or, more probably, is induced to adopt from an apprehension of having no time to attack each separately : laboriously plying her knife and fork, her eyes are greedily scanning the dainties set before her, whilst her corkscrew ringlets wanton alternately on her neighbour's plate, or in the frothy head of a tumbler of Hodgson's plate ale which flanks her."

Theatricals

The first building that was devoted to theatricals was situated behind the present Writers' Buildings in Dalhousie Square.

Subscription theatrical performances were started in October of the year 1795. Six performances were to be given in the "season ;" a subscriber paying 120 sicca rupees was entitled to a "ticket for the season for himself and every lady of his family"—single tickets were 64 rupees each. The first subscription play took place on the 30th October, when was represented the farce of "Trick upon Trick, or the Vintner in the Suds," with the musical entertainment of "the Poor Soldier."

Theatrical talent must have been at a very low ebb indeed, when such a bill of fare as the following was the best that could be given in the way of amusement at the Calcutta Theatre :—"On Wednesday next, the 13th May, 1795, will be performed the farce of Neck or Nothing ; and the musical Entertainment of The Waterman ; with a view of Westminster Bridge, and a representation of the Row-

ing match. Pit and box, sixteen rupees ; upper boxes, twelve rupees ; gallery, eight rupees."

Here is another performance to which our ancestors crowded to see represented on the Calcutta stage in 1795 :—"The Farce of Barnaby Rattle, with a new musical entertainment called Rule Britannia."

The old theatre was used for performances until 1808, when the house and adjoining buildings were purchased by a member of the Tagore family, Gopeymohun Tagore, who added to the buildings and formed the whole of the premises into a bazar, which he called the New China Bazar—by which name it is still known.

There existed in 1795 another theatre in Doomtullah, a lane leading out of the Old China Bazar, and near to the other theatre. The manager of the Doomtullah, in that year, announced an unique performance :—"By permission of the Honorable the Governor General, Mr. Lebedeff's New Theatre in the Doomtullah, decorated in the Bengalee style, will be opened very shortly, with a play called The Disguise ; the characters to be supported by performers of both sexes. To commence with vocal and instrumental music called The Indian Serenade. To those musical instruments, which are held in esteem by the Bengalees, will be added European. The words of the much admired Poet 'Shree Bharut Chundro Roy' are set to music. Between the acts some amusing *curiosities* will be introduced."

There were in 1798 two theatres in Calcutta, one called the "Calcutta Theatre," and the other the "Wheler Place Theatre." The performances at both seem to have been of a mediocre description, if we may judge from the weekly advertisements which appear in the papers. For instances, the "Calcutta" advertises—"The Vintner in the Suds," and "The Prize," as the pieces to be performed on the 9th January ; and the "Wheler Place" opposition shop announces—"The Irishman in London," and the musical entertainment of "The Agreeable Surprise," for performance on the 22nd of the same month.

The Chowringhee Theatre, which succeeded the old Theatre near the Writers' Buildings, was built in 1814, on the Chowringhee Road, at the corner of the road that

thenceforth received the name of Theatre Street. The cost of erection was defrayed by a number of gentlemen taking shares, the Governor-General making a liberal donation to assist the object. This continued in full operation till 1839 or 1840, when it was burned down.

A theatre was opened at No. 18, Circular Road on the 30th March, 1812, under the name of "The Athenæum," the performances that evening being the tragedy of the "Earl of Essex" and the farce of "Raising the Wind." Price of tickets, one gold mohur each.

A Chowringhee Dramatic Society was formed in 1814, and its first annual meeting [was] held at Calcutta on the 6th July, 1815.

A theatrical performance was got up at Kidderpore on the 28th August, 1815, when the farce of "the Lying Valet" was performed.

Chandernagore also boasted of a theatre where many of the Calcutta residents used to resort. We have not been able to ascertain when it was built. It must have been before 1808, for in that year we find the following ludicrous incident which occurred there on the 4th April, 1808 :—

"After the representation of the farce of *L'Afocat Patelin*, in which a French village judge sits on the trial of a shepherd, accused by his master of having killed several sheep of a capital breed, with the wool of which he, the master, used to have his superfine *English* cloth made—the audience had withdrawn, when something valuable about the theatre was discovered to be missing. The suspicion of having stolen it fell upon a native workman that had been seen lurking behind the scenes. He was seized by one of the managers, and carried to the theatre before the judge who had not yet unrobed, and who immediately resumed his seat. An interpreter was sworn; and the prisoner, surrounded by bailiffs in their proper dresses, was with the utmost gravity questioned on the circumstances of the fact alleged against him. The novelty of the appearance had such an effect on the black offender, that he fell prostrate at the feet of the judge, confessed the theft, and pointed out the place where he had concealed it, and where it was actually found. After a severe reprimand, he was released

on his solemn promise to be honest in future, a promise which from his fears he is likely to keep at least within the precincts of the theatre."

The Dum Dum Theatre was commenced before 1817. The first actor that gave it a prominence, and brought it before the public, was a bombardier of the name of Charles Franckling, of the 2nd Battery of Artillery. He was a son of a chemist and druggist of the city of Bath, who early turned his attention to Thesipian fame; and when only 16 years of age, joined himself to a party of strolling players, then in the vicinity of Bath, with whom he continued for eighteen months, when finding his expectation of wealth vanish, he enlisted in the Company's service and arrived in Bengal in 1817. Being stationed at Dum-Dum, he at once joined the Thesipian band of the Dum-Dum Theatre, and by his versatile talents, which were ably seconded by his officers and others, he was soon enabled to raise the character of the performances to the highest standard. On the 25th August, 1824, Mr. Franckling passed away from this world.

In 1824 the Calcutta Theatre seems to have been closed, as the fact is referred to in an obituary notice of Mrs. Gottlieb, who had been an actress on the Chowringhee boards during the previous two years.

The Dum-Dum Theatre is announced as about to be reopened in November 1826, after considerable alterations and improvements. This institution was long a place of attraction for lovers of the drama, and in later times Mrs. Leach graced its boards.

We see an advertisement on the 14th May, 1827, of the "Theatre Boitaconnah," announcing that the performance of "The Young Widow, or a Lesson for Lovers," and the farce of "My Landlady's Gown," was to take place on the 24th for the benefit of Mrs. Bland. The hour for the commencement of the performance was *half past seven*, which would be considered an inconveniently early hour in these times.

A faint description of the theatre that existed in 1840, (this could not have been the *Calcutta* Theatre) may be gathered from the following in one of the Hon. Miss Eden's

"Letters from India :"—"We went last night to the play, which we had bespoken. No punkhas and a long low room with few windows ; it is impossible to say what the heat was, but the acting was really excellent ; I never saw better. We stayed only for one farce—"Naval Engagements"—and notwithstanding the heat laughed all the time. There is a nephew of Joseph Hume's, a lawyer, who acts very well, and Stocqueler, the editor of one of the papers, is quite as good as Farren."

In the Mofussil theatricals were usually got up by the officers and men of the regiments quartered at the various stations, as is the case up to the present day. Of the state of the drama at one of these stations, Cawnpore, which was considered a first rate military cantonment, we find the following notice in the beginning of 1825 :—

"The corps dramatique was composed of men of the—Dragoons, some of whom were by no means devoid of ability ; but the most strenuous exertions of the more able amongst them could not counterbalance the shock which the feelings received in contemplating the awkward giants with splay feet, gruff voices, and black beards, copiously powdered with flour, who were wont to personate ladies and Leonoras. Here nothing was left for the imagination to work upon—the abominable reality forced itself most cruelly upon the most indulgent of critics and the least fastidious of spectators. But a new theatrical era was dawning at Cawnpore. A public-spirited individual, by the irresistible argument of an excellent *tiffin*, convinced a dozen admirers of the historic art of the propriety of meeting at his house to cast an amateur play. Everything now went on swimmingly. Play succeeded play. The amateurs formed themselves into a club denominated the "Strollers," and numerous were the merry reunions after rehearsals, and at the club dinners which were held once a month. The surviving members may perhaps occasionally look back to the cold season of 1825-26 at Cawnpore, and dwell with satisfaction upon the recollection of the mirth and good fellowship which distinguished the meetings of the "Strollers" in the ante-room of the assembly house, where a tem-

porary stage was erected, after the destruction by fire of the old building."

Racing

Racing was always popular in old Calcutta. There existed a race course at the end of Garden Reach, on what was afterwards the Akra farm. There was another course, however, on the maidan. The present race course was laid out in 1819.

We do not know the precise date at which the first regular race-meeting came off at Calcutta, or at the other presidencies. Mr. Stocqueler in his *Handbook* says—"The first record of the existence of racing in Calcutta, may be dated from the origin of the Bengal Jockey Club, in 1803"—but we find in the volume of *Hicky's Gazette* for 1780 accounts both of races and of race balls.

The following notice of the Calcutta races appears in a paper of the 2nd January, 1794, in an advertisement :—
"The stewards present their compliments to the subscribers to the races, and take this opportunity to inform them, that a breakfast, with music, &c. will be provided in tents, on the course after the races, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the 16th, 17th and 18th January, and a ball and supper at the Theatre on Wednesday, the 18th, where they hope for the honor of their company," &c. The races run for were (1) for the Plate ; (2) the Hunters' Plate ; (3) the Lady's Plate. The running was by ponies generally, and only two ponies appear to have run in each race. At the close of each day's running, or as it is stated "after the race each morning," from which it would appear there was only one race each day, a public breakfast was given in the tents, where a company of upwards of a hundred and fifty sat down. "After breakfast, the company adjourned to an adjoining tent of very capacious demensions, handsomely fitted up, and boarded for the purpose of dancing. Country dances commenced in two sets, and were kept up with the utmost gaiety till *two in the afternoon*." How different to present usages.

We have no information as to the length of the Calcutta race course in those days, but if it was the same as at pre-

sent, the running must have been very severe, judging from the programme of the races for 1795 :—

First day, November 25.—A plate of 50 gold mohurs, free for all horses, mares, &c., the best of three heats, twice round to a heat, carrying 9st. 7 lbs. each.

Second day, November 26.—A plate of 50 gold mohurs, free for all horses, mares, &c., that never won plate or sweepstakes, the best of three heats, twice round to a heat, carrying 9st. 7 lbs. each.

Third day, November 27.—Similar to the above, but weight 12 stone.

Same day—A plate of 50 gold mohurs, free for all ponies, 12½ hands high, that never won plate or sweepstakes, the best of three heats, twice round to a heat, carrying 9 stone each.

After this, racing began to be more generally indulged in. At Calcutta instead of two or three races altogether being run, at the winter meeting, we find in 1797 two or three run, on each day for three days. At Benares too, a very strong race-meeting was got up, and races were run almost daily from the 9th of December to Christmas day, one race on each occasion.

A few years later they appear to have fallen into desuetude in Calcutta, though carried on with great zest at Madras. How soon the custom was revived we do not know : but we find Lord Valentia stating early in the present century, that, “on Lord Wellesley’s arrival in the country, he set his face decidedly against horse racing and every other species of gambling ; yet at the end of November 1809, there were three days’ races at a small distance from Calcutta. Lord Wellesley’s influence, however, threw a damper on racing for many years.

After a lull the Calcutta Races again commenced under the patronage of Lord Moira. The first day’s racing was held on the 4th March, 1816, when there were two races. On the second day there were also two races only. On the 25th March there were two more races. They were run in the morning after the fogs had dispersed ; and as this takes place at a rather late hour, it must have been hot work for both the spectators and horses.

In India the necessity of avoiding exposure to the mid-day sun requires that the races take place early in the morning, commencing generally before sunrise. Those who in India are in the habit (and who is not ?) of witnessing that most exciting of all public amusements, are soon initiated into the sudden and disagreeable alternation from cold to heat which occurs on these occasions. "On arriving at the race-stand, where the floor is covered with straw and a carpet, you may incase yourself in upper Benjamins and cloaks innumerable, and still fail to guard against the bitter cold of the morning ; but in three or four short hours, when the sport has terminated, the heat, glare and dust become almost insufferable, and you hasten home to divest yourself of all but an under-garment."

In 1818 the races began to be run in the evening instead of the morning, as had been the practice hitherto. There were races also regularly held at Barrackpore. They commenced as early as 1816.

The Cawnpore race-meeting of February 1825, was the most remarkable in its annals. It continued for alternate days during three weeks. Some of the most noted Arabs on the Indian turf here measured their powers. The race funds were ample, and held out such inducements that crack horses were allured from distances which would put to shame the most travelled of English racers. Nor was there any lack of hack races on each day of the meeting, which were chiefly concocted at the ordinaries held on the night preceding each day's running.

Boat Races

We have a notice of the first boat races in Calcutta, which took place on the 25th July 1813. Seven sailing boats ran on this occasion. The novel exhibition afforded considerable amusement to the spectators.

Sailing matches having been inaugurated in Calcutta, the sport began to be duly appreciated. Other matches came off on the 4th June, 1814, and on this occasion, there were several rowing matches. In these, boats of various descriptions competed—boliahs, dingies, gigs, &c. some propelled by oars, and others by paddles.

The races fell into desuetude till about 1836, when

they were revived, but they have never held a high place among the sporting community of Calcutta, owing to the crowded state of the river.

Cricket

On the 18th and 19th January, 1804, was played a grand match of cricket between the Etonians, Civil servants of the Company, and all other servants of the Company resident in Calcutta, which was won by the former in one innings by 152 runs. The Etonians scored 232, while their antagonists in their double innings only scored 80 runs. This is the first notice that we have seen of this healthful game being played at Calcutta.

Cricket at the present day holds a high place, and several excellent teams exist in Calcutta, and have done so for many years.

Ballooning

Balloon ascents must have been a novelty indeed in India, when prominent notice is given in the editorial columns of the *Gazette*, of the inflation and ascent of such playthings as those alluded to in the following account :—
“Last Friday night (30th July, 1785,) between the hours of 9 and 10, a balloon, measuring six feet in diameter, and filled with rarefied air, was let off from the Esplanade. It mounted very gradually until it had risen about a quarter of a mile, when it ascended with great rapidity, shot towards the west, and got out of sight in about a quarter of an hour from the time of its departure from the earth. Mr. Wintle, the young gentleman who constructed the balloon, will favour the settlement with another exhibition to-morrow evening. This balloon, which measures eight feet in diameter, will be let off from the Esplanade at 8 o'clock in the evening, if the weather will permit; but, should it prove unfavourable, the exhibition will be deferred till Monday evening at the same hour.”

The first ascent of a large balloon from the plains of Bengal took place on the 21st March, 1836. Mons. Robertson, the aeronaut, a Frenchman, who had made sixteen previous ascents in various parts of Europe, came expressly to India for the purpose of astonishing the Indians with the novel *tamasha* of a human being wafted out of sight into

ethereal space in his fairy car. Such competition is said to have prevailed at Paris for the glory of being the first to make the experiment in India, that M. Robertson was fain to hurry hither before the balloon itself was ready. The ascent took place at the further end of Garden Reach. The balloon rose well, but ere it attained a mile of height, it was seen to return so rapidly earthward, that great apprehensions were entertained for the traveller's neck. The resistance of the air below, however, pressed up the slack of the balloon like an umbrella. The car was thus supported in its descent as by a parachute, and M. Robertson escaped with only a heavy fall. A second ascent was not made in Calcutta, the aeronaut proceeding to Lucknow to make an ascent there. But his early death prevented further ascents. Since then some attempts have been made by a Mr. Kite, but they were failures and ended in the death of the aeronaut in one of his ascents in Burmah.

Garden Excursions

The Botanical Gardens, three miles distant from Calcutta, are situated on the left bank of the Hooghly. They are undoubtedly the richest and most beautiful gardens in the world ; besides a variety of European flowers and shrubs, all the trees and plants of India, nay, we may say of all Asia, and Southern Africa and the Straits, are cultivated here. The garden was begun by Colonel Kyd in March 1786, and collections of plants from different parts of the East were soon introduced into it with such success, that the number of plants brought into it in eight years amounted to more than 300. Dr. Roxburgh joined it in the autumn of 1798. His unremitting attention to its improvement and his eminent abilities as a botanist, soon increased the stock of trees and plants, so that in 1831 the number of described species in the garden amounted to 3,500.

From the report of a meeting of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society held in Calcutta on the 14th May, 1827, we learn that a piece of ground at Allypore (Mr. Palmer's garden) was taken on a perpetual lease for a nursery and garden.

The object contemplated was not only to bring to the

highest perfection all the fruits and vegetables of Europe and India, but also to raise tea and coffee, and all the medicinal plants, as well as the most useful kinds of trees, in order to supply the gardens of India and Europe. This garden is not only a source of unceasing delight, but also of incalculable benefit to the inhabitants of Calcutta, who constantly resort thither as a retreat in hot weather, and to hold pleasurable parties therein.

The garden which is very extensive, is laid out with much taste. It combines the attraction of a Botanic Garden with that of a Park, and is therefore the great lounge of the citizens of Calcutta. The magnificent banyan trees which adorn it are the scene of many a merry picnic party on the numerous holidays which the Hindoo calendar bestows on the community of the Presidency. One of these, the largest is about a century old, and covers a space of ground 800 feet in circumference. Its trunk girths 5 feet. The garden possesses a noble botanical library which has been enriched, from time to time, by the liberality of Government, and the donations of botanists in Europe and America. The annals of the garden embrace the successive labors of Dr. Roxburgh, Dr. Buchanan, Dr. Wallich, and last, but not least, of the genius and thoroughly accomplished botanist, William Griffith, whose premature death, at the age of thirty-four, was a source of deep lamentation to the scientific world. A noble monument to the memory of the founder, who died in 1793, stands in a conspicuous part of the garden. Monuments have also been erected in the garden to commemorate the services of Drs. Roxburgh and Jack.

Opposite Baboo's Ghaut, and immediately south of the Esplanade Road, are the Eden Gardens, for which the inhabitants are indebted to the liberality and taste of the Misses Eden, sisters of Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India. Here is the Band-stand, where the Town Band, or the Band of the European Regiment stationed in the Fort, discourses sweet music every evening. Of late years the Gardens have been greatly enlarged, and laid out with winding paths and artificial water, interspersed with a profusion of beautiful flowering trees, and shrubs

—a pleasant place for a morning or evening stroll.

In the Gardens is a Burmese Pagoda, removed from Prome after the last war in 1854, and re-erected here in 1856.

CHAPTER VIII

LAW & JUSTICE

Establishment of Courts

A COURT, consisting of a mayor and aldermen was established in 1727, and administered British law to British subjects in a house built by Mr. Bouchier soon after the charter arrived, which was then called the Court House, and the remembrance of which still survives in the street, which after the lapse of more than a hundred and fifty years, is yet called Old Course House street.

From the decision of the mayor and aldermen, an appeal lay to the President in Council, and the two bodies were thus kept in a state of constant activity and collision. The municipal, fiscal, civil and criminal affairs of the town, as far as the natives were concerned, were administered by a civilian, who was styled the *Zemindar*. He farmed out the monopolies ; he collected the rents ; and he decided all civil and criminal suits. In all actions for property an appeal lay from his award to the President. In capital cases, in which "the lash was inflicted till death," the confirmation of the sentence by the President was necessary. In all other cases, the investigation of the *Zemindar* was summary and his decision final. He had the power of fining, flogging and imprisoning. He was judge, magistrate and collector ; and he was consequently the most important personage in the rising town. This office was always changed once, and sometimes thrice, in twelve months. He was never allowed to remain long enough in office to acquire any knowledge or experience of his duties. He was in almost every instance a total stranger to the native language ; and to complete his helplessness, all the accounts were kept exclusively in the vernacular. His salary was 2,000 rupees a year with a percentage on the farms, which may have given him half as much more. He was always involved in trade, from which he drew an income of ten times the

value of his salary. Such was the municipal government of the town of Calcutta in 1745.

The East India Company was originally simply a company of merchants, empowered by a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1600, to trade to the East Indies.

In 1661 they obtained authority from parliament to judge, according to the laws of England, all persons living under them in their settlements. By two subsequent charters, respectively granted in 1683 and 1686, the company was authorized to erect courts of justice for the trial of offences, committed both by sea and land, according to the English law, and the courts thereupon established, continued to exercise the powers assigned to them till the year 1765, when they were superseded by courts established under the Nazim of Bengal, which were superintended, though very imperfectly, by the English heads of factories.

Further legislative powers were conferred by the charter of 1773. This charter declared the Governor-General in Council competent to make rules and regulations for the good order and civil government of the settlement of Fort William ; and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court extended to all persons within the town of Calcutta, as well as to British subjects resident in any part of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

The Supreme Court, which was instituted in 1774, "to protect Indians from oppression, and to give India the benefits of English law," is described by Mackintosh (writing in 1775) in the following trenchant style :—"The present mode of administering justice, under the sanction of a British Act of Parliament, in Bengal, is a subject which calls loudly for public attention and speedy relief.

This dreadful evil threatens the extinction of the British power and property in India. Corruption hath usurped the sacred seat of justice, and, shielded by the power of a venial government, hath held quiet possession of this station for six lingering years, without even the veil of hypocrisy to shade the horrors of oppression and savage violence."

The establishment of the Supreme Court in Calcutta

introduced lawyers into the metropolis, to the great loss and sorrow of the natives.

"Asiaticus" writes thus in 1774 of the lawyers :—"The numerous departments, which have arrived in the train of the Judges, and of the new Commander-in-Chief of the forces, will of course be appointed to all the posts of any emolument, and I must do those gentlemen the justice to observe, that, both in number and capacity they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth." Hartley House mentions—"No wonder lawyers return from this country rolling in wealth. Their fees are enormous ; if you ask a single question on any affair you pay down your gold-mohur, and if he writes a letter of only three lines, twenty-eight rupees ! I tremble at the idea of coming into their hands ; for what must be the recoveries, to answer such immense charges ! You must, however, be informed that the number of acting attornies on the court roll is restricted to twelve, who serve an articulated clerkship of three years only, instead of five, as in England. The fee for making a will is in proportion to its length, from five goldmohurs upwards ; and as to marriage articles I should imagine they would half ruin a man, and a process at law be the destruction of both parties. A man of abilities and good address in this line, if he has the firmness to resist the fashionable contagion, gambling, need only pass one seven years of his life at Calcutta, to return home in affluent circumstances ; but the very nature of their profession leads them into gay connections, and, having for a time complied with the humor of their company, from prudential motives, they become tainted and prosecute their bane from the impulses of inclination."

On the 15th July, 1797, in the House of Lords, the order of the day for the second reading of the India Judicature bill having been moved and read, Mr. Rous was heard on the part of the East India Company against it. Mr. Rous stated "that the Company considered the present bill as a violation of the solemn compact entered into between the public and the Company on the renewal of the charter in 1793. That the extension of the courts of judicature was a departure from the statute of 1797 ; but that

what most of all alarmed the Company was the institution of a Pension List for the judges, the pension to be granted by the Crown, though payable out of the Company's revenues, and at the end of a duration in India at so short a time as five years, if the servants of the Crown thought fit to grant them. Mr. Rous stated the period of the institution and existence of the Supreme Court of Judicature ; and said, though the reason for limiting the judges to three could not be known to him, yet as it happened in consequence of the death of Sir William Jones, that only three judges had sat for the space of fifteen years together, there could be no objection to having only three judges on the bench of the Supreme Court ; but the objection the East India Company felt was to the appropriation of the salary of the fourth judge to the payment of the pensions in question. He pointed out the manifest difference between the establishment of the judges in India and their establishments in England.

A puisne judge in India had a salary of £6,000 a year, which was three times as much as all the emoluments of a puisne judge in Westminster Hall ; and the supreme judge in India had a salary of £8,000 a year. It had been generally conceived, as for the sake of decorum, a judge should in some sort live a retired life, that the income of judges in India would, after a due time spent in the exercise and discharge of their duties in that country, not only be sufficient to enable them to return home with a moderate income, but fully competent to their comfort and support for the remainder of their lives. If, however, their Lordships should think it right to allow the clause to stand, as far as regarded pensions, the Company earnestly prayed it might be altered ; and instead of the grant of these pensions being at the will of the King's servants, that it might depend upon the address of either House of Parliament, which they conceived would secure them from the possibility of abuse." The measure was severely commented on at adjourned meetings of the India House, held on the 22nd and 28th June and 12th July, and in the Commons on 27th June.

The Calcutta Court of Requests was instituted in Calcutta on the 13th March, 1802. The jurisdiction of this

court was limited to claims up to 100 rupees. In case the debtor was unable to pay the amount claimed, his goods were to be sold, and if the assets therefrom were not sufficient to meet the claim, the debtor was to be apprehended and conveyed to "goal, there to remain until he or she shall perform such order or decree."

The Supreme Court at Madras received its charter as a new court of judicature on the 4th September, 1801.

Sentences

From a *Gazette* of the 18th August, 1791, we learn that the sessions had just ended, and "that several culprits received sentence—upwards of fourteen were burnt in the hand and imprisoned, several were sentenced to stand in the pillory, and the rest acquitted." Also that "the Portuguese who was convicted of stealing a valuable diamond ring from the shop of Tulloh and Co., was sentenced to be burnt in the hand, to be imprisoned for the term of one month, and then discharged, on finding sufficient security that he will quit the provinces."

On the 1st August, 1795, at the general gaol delivery in Calcutta, sentence of *death* was passed on six criminals convicted of burglary ! Three men, who had been privates of the 3rd European Battalion, were burned in the hand, and sentenced to be imprisoned with hard labor in the House of Correction for two years, having been convicted of highway robbery, committed on the Esplanade. "Thomas Forresty, convicted of a misdemeanor, was sentenced to be privately whipped in the goal of Calcutta, and confined one month. Lochurn, for stealing half a mohur and some silver ornaments, to be publicly whipped in the Burra Bazar, and kept to hard labor in the House of Correction for three months. Connoy Day, for privately stealing a mohur from the Bank of Hindostan, was sentenced to be confined in prison until the 10th instant, when he is to be conveyed to the south end of the Burra Bazar, and whipped to the north end, and from thence back again ; and then to be carried to the House of Correction, there to be confined and kept to hard labor, until the 1st of July, 1796." Those in the seat of justice seems, to have been humorous in their judgments.

At the Supreme Court, Calcutta, on the 10th December, 1802, the following sentences were passed :—Joseph Mari Leperrousse, for murder and piracy—death, and that his body should be afterwards hung in chains. Byjoo Mussalchy, robbery,—death ! Pauly Stratty, Anunderam, and Catoul Kissen, for conspiracy, two years' imprisonment and to stand in the pillory. Ramsoonder Sircar, for perjury, to be transported for seven years ! Ter Jacob Ter Petruse, an American clergyman, for perjury, imprisonment for two years, and a fine of one rupee, Imaum box Golyah, for robbery, transportation for life. Thomas Norman Morgan for forgery, two years' imprisonment, to stand in the pillory and pay a fine of one rupee. Choochill, Buxoo, Russie and Nyamutullah, for robbery, transportation for seven years. The Chief Justice in passing sentence on Morgan for forgery, observed, "it was fortunate for the prisoner that the law which makes that crime *capital*, had not yet been extended to this country ; but he had reason to believe that ere long it would."

On the 15th June, 1893, at the sessions of Oyer and Terminer at the Calcutta Supreme Court, "Thomas Shoul-dham, who had been convicted of uttering a treasury pass, knowing it to be forged, was then put to the bar to receive his sentence, which was that he should stand once in the pillory, be imprisoned for the term of two years in the gaol of Calcutta, pay a fine to the king of five thousand sicca rupees, and be imprisoned until such fine be paid."

On the 13th June, 1840, an Indian woman was sentenced by the Supreme Court of Calcutta to "stand in the pillory, with a statement of her crime in the English and Indian languages, and afterwards to be transported to Prince of Wales' Island for seven years."

What will our readers think of the following sentences delivered in the Supreme Court of Calcutta on the 4th November, 1804 :—"John Maclauchlin, found guilty of man-slaughter, to be fined one rupee, and imprisoned one month. Mahomed Tindal found guilty of man-slaughter, to be fined one rupee, and imprisoned one month. Mathew Farnes, found guilty of man-slaughter, to be fined one rupee, and imprisoned one month. Thomas Eldred

Sherburne, for forgery, fined one rupee, to stand in the pillory on the 14th instant, and imprisoned two years. Radeca, otherwise Jesse, for stealing on the high seas, to be transported for seven years, and kept to hard labor during that period. Mritonjoy Coomar, for robbing the mint, ditto, ditto." Verily the crimes of forgery and theft were considered by the legislators of those days more heinous than that of man-slaughter.

On the 17th October, 1805, Henry Irwin, Paymaster of the 26th Foot, was put on his trial in the Bombay Court for the murder of Lieutenant John Young of the same regiment, in a duel which took place at Dohud on the frontiers of Guzerat on the 27th March. As there were many alleviating circumstances in the case, and it was proved that the wound in the leg had not been a mortal one, and that death ensued from the deceased's own act in removing the tourniquet and the consequent effusion of blood, the jury acquitted the accused.

On the 4th December, 1806, Alex. Moore and James Dempsey, two soldiers, were tried in the Supreme Court, the former for the murder of Owen McInnes in a duel with muskets at Muthra in June; and the latter, for the murder of Charles Crouly (by boxing) at Allahabad—they were both convicted of man-slaughter. Lieutenant Ryan was tried for the murder of Lieutenant Corry in a duel at Cawnpore, and also convicted of manslaughter. James Champbell was tried for maiming an Indian woman at Chunar found guilty and sentenced to death. In the above cases Moore was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and a fine of 20 rupees; Dempsey to one week's imprisonment and fine of one rupee; Ryan, a fine of Rs. 100 and imprisonment for six months. A Portuguese man and an Indian were also convicted of man-slaughter and sentenced to be burnt in the hand, imprisonment for one year and a fine.

A case was tried in the Calcutta Supreme Court on the 10th June, 1807, of forgery of a treasury bill for Rs. 2,500 by two Indians of the name of Calleypershad Chatterjee and Ramconnoy Ghose. This appears to have been the first instance where natives had tried their hands at forming types or plates whence to print bills, &c., similar to those

issued by banks or treasuries. Hitherto they had been very skilful in altering figures on existing papers, but this was the attempt at printing wholesale, and it was done in such an incomplete and awkward way, that it was at once detected. The accused were sentenced to "two years' imprisonment in the house of correction and to stand once in the pillory."

"Burning in the hand" seems to have been a very common and the usual sentence passed in the Supreme Court of Calcutta in 1812.

It was a custom in some cases also, when a man was sentenced to death, to appeal to "His Majesty in Council" as to whether the sentence should not be commuted. This practice subjected the culprits to close imprisonment in the condemned cells for a period of almost twelve months before a reply could be obtained. In one case where the judge passed sentence of imprisonment on two European prisoners, named Moore and Knox, for man-slaughter, he concluded by ordering that during their imprisonment "the gaoler will use such vigilance that they do not communicate disgrace to the gaol."

At the Supreme Court in Calcutta, on the 22nd June, 1812, the following sentences were passed :—(1) Ensign Soady, convicted of man-slaughter, a fine of 200 rupees, and imprisonment for one year. (2) Bindabun Dobee, man-slaughter, to be burned in the hand, and imprisonment for one year. (3) Joseph Moore, and George Knox, man-slaughter, to be burned in the hand, and imprisonment for one year. (4) Andrew Masberg, for an assault with intent to commit murder, to be imprisoned for three years. (5) William Soubise, for an attempt to set fire to a bungalow, to be imprisoned for two years.

On the 2nd November, 1813, the following sentences were passed :—Privates Barry and Boyle of the 84th Foot, found guilty of highway robbery received sentence of death; Rodrigues, found guilty of forging pay abstracts, was sentenced to stand in the pillory, two yeras' imprisonment and a fine of 300 pagodas.

A bill for abolishing the punishment of the pillory was passed in July 1816.

On the 21st April, 1828, Fukrun Nissa Begum was brought up in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, on a charge of having caused the death of a slave woman in her service, by beating her with billets of fire-wood ; three of her servants also assisting in the deed. The case was proved, and the prisoners were sentenced to be "imprisoned until twelve o'clock tomorrow, and then to be discharged." Against this lenient sentence the Begum petitioned. The petition represented that she viewed with such horror the disgrace of a public exposure in a court of justice, which was to her much worse than any punishment the court could inflict on her, that rather than submit to it she pleaded *guilty*, in the hope that no judgment would be passed upon her, but that the case might be sent home to His Majesty, to whom she would sue for a pardon. After hearing this petition, the Chief Justice said "as the law now stands, we think it proper that the judgment should be respited until the result is ascertained of the appeal to the King in Council, upon the Begum giving security to the court to appear, if required, on the second day of the second session, in the year 1829, to receive judgment."

Punishments

It was customary in those days to have executions in spots where four roads crossed, probably with a view to make the event more impressive. For instance, in a trial of a Manilla man for stabbing an Indian woman, tried in the Supreme Court on the 10th June, 1807, the prisoner was ordered "to be executed on Saturday, the 13th, at the four roads which meet at the head of Lall Bazar Street."

A novel scene was presented on the Hooghly off Calcutta on the 13th December, 1813, when five Portuguese were hanged for the wilful murder of Captain Stewart of the *Asia*. In order to render the benefits of such an example as extensive and salutary as possible among men of similar habits and modes of life, it was determined to rig up a gallows on the river. A platform was laid on two bhurs lashed together, on which the men were conveyed to the anchor boat on which the gallows was erected. The ships in the river were requested to send each a boat to attend the execution.

"At an early hour," says the *Times*, "the preparative gun was fired, and the yellow flag was hoisted—the boats assembled in great numbers and the side of the river, as well as the decks of the neighbouring ships and the tops of the adjoining houses were covered with spectators. A little before 9 o'clock the criminals arrived from the gaol under a guard of sepoy at the Old Fort Ghat, and were warped off on the platform to the anchor boat. There the yards had been braced up different ways so as to separate the yard arms sufficiently ; and as soon as the final preparations were finished, the gun was fired about 20 minutes after 9, and the malefactors were run up at the same instant."

On the 24th January, 1828 was executed a Fakeer who had murdered a child, named William Beauchamp at Howrah Ghaut, on the 24th of the previous July. The gallows was erected in the open space, called the "school ground." Several thousands of Indian assembled to see this novel proceeding, but they made no attempt at rescuing the man from the hands of justice. The body was ordered to be gibbeted, and the iron cage to contain it was brought to the ground in a cart, which followed the criminal to the gallows.

The following description of an execution by hanging, we obtain from Lang's "Wanderings," and it represents the usual mode of carrying out these executions :—"When we had arrived at the place of execution, a field at some distance from the jail, in which had been erected a temporary gallows, I was surprised at not finding a mob. There was no one there but the culprit—who was eating as much rice as he could and as fast as he could—a couple of Indian policemen with drawn swords guarding him ; the jailor, who was a Mahomedan, and a Bengalee writer, (clerk) who stood with pen, ink and paper in hand, ready to dot down the official particulars of the scene, preparatory to their being forwarded to Government according to a certain regulation. "Is every thing ready ?" said the assistant magistrate to the jailor. "Yes, sahib," he replied ; "but he has not yet finished his breakfast." "In one minute, sahib," cried the culprit, who overheard the conversation ; and hastily tak-

ing into his stomach the few grains of rice that remained upon the dish, and drinking the remainder of his half gallon of milk, he sprang up and called out "tyear !" signifying "I am ready." He was then led up to the scaffold, the most primitive affair that I ever beheld. It was only a piece of wood-work resembling a large crock or crate in which a dinner service is packed for exportation. Upon this crock, which was placed under the beam, he was requested to stand. Having obeyed this order, the rope was adjusted round his neck. The assistant magistrate then called out to him in Hindustance—"Have you any thing to say." "Yes, sahib," was the reply. And he began a long story, false from beginning to end, but every word of which the Bengalee writer took down. He spoke, and with vehemence, for about thirty-five minutes when, having stopped, either finally, or to take breath, the assistant magistrate gave the signal to the jailor, by waving his hand. The crock was then pulled from under the culprit by the two policemen, and down dangled the culprit's body, the feet not more than eighteen inches from the ground."

Difficulty of Obtaining Justice

To show the enormous expense attending the simplest action in the Supreme Court, we may instance the case of Dr. Bryce against Mr. Samuel Smith of the *Hurkaru* newspaper for libel. It lasted two years, and the defendant was adjudged to pay as damages *eight hundred rupees*. The plaintiff incurred a cost of *ten thousand rupees* to carry this through. Had the plaintiff been a comparatively poor man, he would have been ruined—he would have gone out of court triumphantly cleared in his character, to go into jail, perhaps for life, from inability to pay his attorney's bill.

"A native being desirous, not long since," says the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 17th August, 1708, "to institute a suit in a court of justice, applied to an attorney, who informed him he was already engaged on behalf of his opponent ; he, however, offered to recommend him to a friend, who would undertake his cause with equal readiness and ability, and gave him a note of recommendation to him. The cautious native carried the note to a person who could read English,

and found it to contain the following admonition : —‘Dear —, I have killed *my* hog, do you kill *yours*.’ The hint was not lost, though the admonition missed its aim. The parties compromised their dispute, and the lawyers lost their fees.”

Several instances can be mentioned where Calcutta Juries brought in “not guilty,” when Europeans were defendants in cases of murder or maltreatment of natives. On the 10th June, 1812, Macdonald, the mate of a vessel (*the Hunter*) was tried in the Calcutta Court for “causing the death of one of his crew by tying him up during the whole of a cold night on a voyage to Botany Bay.” Though the evidence was very clear, the Jury returned a verdict of “not guilty”—on which the Chief Justice justly remarked, “The gentlemen of the jury must certainly have discovered some reason for doubting the testimony of the witnesses, which did not occur to the court ; and you therefore have escaped the punishment of man-slaughter which the court have not the smallest doubt but you deserve. I hope you will be advised to return to that humane and mild disposition which was your character six years ago. You may not probably meet with another jury, who will deal so mercifully with you. The punishment was illegal, it was cruel, it was brutal.”

CHAPTER IX

THE CALCUTTA PRESS

Early Newspapers and Journals

WE shall give a few statistics of the Press in India between the years 1780 and 1833 ; though the first newspaper was published in Calcutta anterior to 1774 ; it was called the *India Gazette*, an organ of the Government.

On the 29th January, 1780, was commenced the *Bengal Gazette*, the proprietor of which was Mr. Hickey.

On the 6th April, 1785, was published by Messrs. Gordon and Hay the first number of the *Oriental Magazine* or *Calcutta Amusements*, a monthly.

On the 3rd October, 1791, the *Calcutta Magazine and Oriental Museum* saw the light. It was a monthly and published by Mr. White, at No. 51, Cossitollah street.

In the *India Gazette* of the 19th April, 1792, we have a strange medley of news, showing what a disturbed state matters were at the close of the preceding year on the continent of Europe, and in India at the beginning of the year under notice. In September there were in Paris commotions which preceded the revolution and the execution of Louis and the Bourbon family ; commotions in Flanders ; report of the trial on the Birmingham rioters in England ; Lord Cornwallis' despatches regarding the taking of Bangalore and Seringapatam, and the signing of peace with Tipoo Sultan ; winding up with the declaration of war against Spain by the Emperor of Morocco. Notices of all these events are contained in a single issue, and yet the editor of the *Gazette* says, that the "English papers brought by the *Prudentia* contain very little worth relating." Verily those were piping times for the newspapers. Neither telegraphs nor semaphores existed in those days, and on the arrival of a ship from England, there was a regular race by the representatives of the Fourth Estate to obtain the latest English newspapers. "Fast" row boats were then

used, which proceeded to Kedgeree and even farther in order to board the incoming vessel, and thus be the first to obtain the latest intelligence.

On the 1st of November, 1794, was published the first number of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, by J. White, printer, No. 2, Weston Lane, Cossitollah. This journal, it would appear, was established for the purpose of giving the whole of the Indian news of the month in as condensed a form as possible for transmission to England; the printer in fact of the "overland summaries" which became so common on the establishment of the overland route.

The *Bengal Hircarrah* was ushered into existence on the 20th January, 1795, as a weekly paper, at the Oriental Star office.

On the 4th of October, 1795, was published the first number of a weekly newspaper, under the title of the *Indian Apollo*. The paper to appear every Sunday, from the Mirror Press, No. 158, Chitpore Road.

The Relator, a biweekly newspaper, is advertised to appear at Calcutta on the 4th April, 1799, and the following is "the flourish with which the announcement of its appearance is heralded before the public :—

"TO THE PUBLIC.—It is an eventful period indeed, at which we solicit your patronage of a work, for the early and faithful communication of those events, which not only interest the feelings and occupy the attention of mankind, but astonish and terrify the world. When in the height of an universal war, NATURE seems to have allotted her *sea* for the theatre of the gallant and unexampled victories of BRITAIN; and FATE resigned the *land* to the sanguinary and immesurable ravages of FRANCE; when ANARCHY has supplanted ORDER; and REASON fled the frenzy of INFIDELITY and as the CHAMELION'S—and the new principles of *human actions* short lived as the EPHEMERON; not only the materials for periodical publication abound, but the vehicles for disseminating them are naturally multiplied. This has been the case in Calcutta; yet we presume to offer another NEWSPAPER to your attention, trusting it will possess equal merit with any contemporary print. As the professions of a stranger res-

pecting himself and undertakings are both nugatory and fulsome, we decline making any ; and should an indulgent PUBLIC sanction our attempt, we shall receive their approbation, with purer satisfaction, than if we had endeavoured to obtain it by arts which only partially delude the simple and infallibly disgust the sensible.

"The terms and manner of publishing are specified below. Should we succeed, the plan may be enlarged ; if not, we shall retire without shame from a pursuit commenced without arrogance. We have chosen the title of THE RELATOR, and the following are its terms, etc., etc. Signed, JOHN HOWEL, *Junr., Editor.*"

The prospectus of the *Calcutta Journal* appears in the *Government Gazette* of September 1818. The newspaper was to occupy the place of the *Calcutta Gazette* and the *Morning Post*, the proprietors of which papers had agreed to sink those journals, the newspaper being published twice a week.

The *Calcutta Exchange Price Current* was commenced in September, 1818.

The first number of the *Asiatic Magazine and Review, and Literary and Medical Miscellany*, was published in Calcutta in July 1818, at the Mirror Press.

In 1817 was published the *Friend of India* at Serampore.

The *Calcutta Journal* was on the 1st May, 1819, made a daily paper with the exception of Mondays and Thursdays, at a charge of eight rupees a month. This is the first newspaper or periodical that professed to be illustrated. The number of engravings, however, did not exceed four a month, which were charged for separately at 8 annas each.

The second number of the *Asiatic Magazine* published at the *Bengal Hircarra* office, No. 7, Post Office street, appeared on the 21st June, 1798. As a specimen of what the literature of Indian magazines was at that day, we append the contents of this number :—(1) Travels of a Native on Terra Incognita ; (2) The Dabash, or Peregrinations and Exploits of Suamoy, a native of Hindostan ; (3) Memoir of Antony Joseph Grosas, &c. ; (4) The Tears of the Press ; (5) Anecdote of an elephant ; (6) On the reli-

gious ceremonies of the Hindus ; (7) Speech of Peter Moore, Esquire, at a Court of Proprietors, etc. ; (8) The Maid of the Moor ; (9) Political review, general intelligence, civil appointments, and domestic occurrences. The price of this magazine was—to subscribers sicca rupees *four* a number, and to non-subscribers *six* !

In a *Calcutta Gazette* of the 25th May, 1815, we find a Government notice stating that “the printing business of Government shall be transferred from the *Calcutta Gazette* press to the press established at the Military Orphan Society ;” and “that a weekly paper will be published at the Society’s Press from the commencement of the ensuing month, to be styled the *Government Gazette*. The *Calcutta Gazette*, which had been established in 1784, still continued to be printed.

On the 31st October, 1824, the *Weekly Gleaner* was published in Calcutta, as the prospectus stated, for “meeting the convenience of those gentlemen whose numerous avocations may not admit of their enjoying an attentive or undivided perusal of the daily newspapers, circulated throughout Calcutta and its environs, and particularly for those residing in the mofussil, who may not have an opportunity of seeing all the papers, and who can, for a trifling sum, obtain the news of the whole week.”

The *John Bull in the East* was published on the 2nd of July, 1821, at the “Hindustanec Press.” James Mackenzie was the editor.

“Proposals for publishing a new weekly, to be entitled the *Calcutta Courier*,” are advertised in the papers. The first number to appear on the 6th May, 1827. The publishers were “Messrs. Hollingbery and Knelen, No. 3, Meerajany Gully, Calcutta.”

We have an account, in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1827, of a portion of the newspaper press of Calcutta, which we shall summarise briefly. The *Bengal Hurkaru* was the leading journal, as the oldest established of those then in existence in Bengal. Its influence on public opinion was however not very great, as its opinions were constantly changing. The *India Gazette* was a paper of established reputation, its circulation was extensive, and its opinions

solid and influential. The *Government Gazette*, from its official connection with authority, was necessarily precluded from independent discussion on passing events; but its statements were relied upon with more faith than those contained in the other journals, and in its information on subjects of science and literature it was greatly valued. The *Chronicle* had been only recently established, and was conducted on the principles that distinguished the late *Calcutta Journal* (of which Mr. Buckingham, who was summarily deported, had been the editor) and advocated a free press and colonization with zeal and assiduity.

A periodical under the name of the *Kaleidoscope* appeared in August 1829, in Calcutta.

In the same year appeared the first number of the *Bengal Annual*.

The *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer* began publication as a monthly magazine in 1829.

The *Calcutta Christian Observer* about the same time.

On the 25th June, 1790, was published the first number of the *Bombay Gazette*, "by authority." It was then a weekly publication.

The *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, under the editorial management of Captain D. L. Richardson appeared in 1825.

A daily paper under the title of the *East Indian* was commenced in Calcutta on the 1st June, 1831, conducted by Mr. Derozio, an East Indian by birth.

A good many newspapers and periodicals have been started in Calcutta of late, but it is doubtful whether at the present moment there are as many English publications of this sort as existed fifty years ago in that city. From an article in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine* for 1833, written by the editor of the *John Bull*, who, we suppose, must have been Mr. J. H. Stocqueler, we take the following enumeration of journals, &c. :—

Daily.—Bengal Hurkaru, India Gazette, Calcutta Courier, John Bull.

Tri-weekly.—India Gazette, Bengal Chronicle and Indian Register.

Half-weekly.—Calcutta Courier, and Calcutta Gazette.

Weekly.—Literary Gazette, Oriental Observer, Bengal

Herald, Reformer, Philanthropist, Enquirer, Gyananeshun, Sumachar Durpun.

Monthly.—Calcutta Monthly Journal, Bengal Sporting Magazine, Christian Intelligencer, and Christian Observer.

Alternate Months.—East Indian United Service Journal.

Quarterly.—Calcutta Magazine and Review, Bengal Army List.

The above list contains a goodly number of organs for the literary gratification of our Anglo-Indian ancestors. The oldest of these was the *Indian Gazette*, which seems at first to have been the official organ of Government. Originally a weekly paper, in 1822 it appeared twice, and in 1830 trice, a week, shortly after this date issuing a daily edition. Its politics, we learn, were "not merely strongly Whiggish" but "approached to the Radical party," and it was distinguished for its general 'gentlemanlikeism.' It entered largely upon the consideration of questions connected with the government of the country, undeterred by any fear of the displeasure of authority or any anxiety for the applause of the magnitude." Its "literary taste" was, we further learn, "severe." Next in age came the *Bengal Hurkaru*. A weekly journal in 1795, when it first appeared; in 1819 it blossomed into a 'daily,' and in 1824, on the death of its rival the *Calcutta Journal*, the censorship of the press established by Lord Wellesley having been removed, "took up a lofty position as the advocate of free discussion, colonization, the education of the natives, and many other popular measures."

The *Calcutta Courier* was up to the year 1831 the *Calcutta Government Gazette*, and the verdict passed on it was that "it lacks dignity;—where commerce, steam, or figures are concerned, the leaders of the *Courier* are able and accurate; but in treating political or local questions of moment, they are frequently charged with flippancy, dullness, or self-sufficiency."

The youngest of the daily papers in 1833 was the *John Bull*, established in 1821 as the *John Bull of the East*. Its conductor declared that it "arose amid the storms and contentions in society which the *Calcutta Journal* was engen-

dering ; and it came professedly as an antidote to the poison disseminated by the print." This paper, we are told, "maintained its popularity by great attention to its intelligence department, and an adherence to Tory and Anglo-Indian conservancy politics until 1829," when from various causes it rapidly declined in circulation and must have expired in 1833 into the hands of Mr. Stocqueler. The change was a violent one—no less than a complete transition from Tory to Whig politics, but it was justified by its success, and in the following year its title was changed to that of the *Englishman*.

Of the other journals it is not necessary to say much. The *Bengal Chronicle* was but a reprint of the best articles in the *Hurkaru*, with which paper the *Bengal Herald* was also closely connected. The *Indian Register* was "an injudicious attempt on the part of the East Indians to possess a journal exclusively their own." The *Philanthropist* and *Enquirer* were religious papers, the editor of the latter "in the fervour of his zeal for Christianity" circulating 100 copies at his own expense. The *Reformer* and *Gyananeshun* dealt with local questions of all kinds, the latter being printed half in English and half in Bengalee. The *Sporting Magazine* was conducted by the editor of the *John Bull*.

Light Literature

On the 27th January, 1785, was published, "printed in the manner of the *Bath Guide*, and embellished with copper plates, *The Indian Guide*, or Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies ; in a series of Political Epistles to her mother from Miss Emily Brittle."

We have two proposals in 1795, for publishing works on India, which was a significant sign of the times ; people who had travelled were now beginning to put the result of their eyes and ears on paper, and transmitting their knowledge of India by means of type to people at home, who were supremely ignorant of every thing relating to the country and its inhabitants. The two advertisements to which we allude, are—(1) "Proposal for the publication of a comedy, in five acts, called *The Mirror*, the scene of which is laid in Calcutta," and (2) "Proposed for publishing *The Indian Traveller*, in three volumes by Mr.

Sonnerat, Commissary General of the French navy." Each volume cost two gold mohurs,—rather a valuable work if we are to assess it by the price, but everything in those days was "costly and precious."

[Advt.] *"In the Press, and speedily will be published* [Price only one gold mohur.] **THE BEVY OF CALCUTTA BEAUX.** (Of a proper size, to be bound up with the Bevy of Beauties) dedicated to the elegant though unknown author of the * * * *

The Beaux I sing, who left fair London's town,
(Done up by fate !) to parry fortune's frown,
With shining Siccas, visit Indian shores
In their mind's greedy eye grasping Calcutta-crores."

In May 1821 was published in Calcutta "Shigrampo," or "the Life and Adventures of a Cadet, a Hudrastic poem. in 32 cantos, addressed to the Honorable the Court of Directors."

Scientific and Useful

Professor Gilchrist published his Oordoo Dictionary in Calcutta in 1787.

On the 23rd April, 1789, appears an advertisement headed "A Card," announcing "the humble request of several natives of Bengal :"—"We humbly beseech any gentlemen will be so good to us as to take the trouble of making a Bengal Grammar and Dictionary, in which we hope to find all the common Bengal country words made into English. By this means we shall be enabled to recommend ourselves to the English Government and understand their orders ; this favor will be gratefully remembered by us and our posterity for ever."

"An English Grammar, in Persian and Bengali," by Dr. Mackinnon, was advertised for early publication at the Hon'ble Company's Press, in Calcutta.—23rd September, 1790.

Francis Gladwin publishes (1793) an English translation of a Materia Medica, entitled Ulfaz Udwiyyeh, compiled by Noureddeen Mohomed Abdul, Lah Shirazy, physician to the Emperor Shahjehan. Price two gold mohurs.

The following books published by Mr. Gladwin, are advertised for sale :—"Persian Moonshee, price 60 Sa. Rs. ; Dictionary of Mohammedan Law, Rs. 30 ; System of Revenue Accounts, Rs. 30 ; Dissertations on the Rhetoric, Prosody and Rhyme of the Persians, Rs. 30 ; Ulfaz Udwiye, a medical dictionary, Rs. 30 ; English and Persian Vocabulary, Rs. 16 ; Tooteenamah, Rs. 16." Verily the cost of printing must have been great, or authors and publishers wanted to make their money fast.

A Dictionary of the Bengalee language, first volume, was published at the end of October 1815.

On the 29th November, 1792, Mr. Baillie, Superintendent of the Free School, informs the public that the Plan of Calcutta is ready for delivery. "He regrets that many unforeseen though unavoidable incidents have greatly retarded the publication, and particularly in waiting many months in the expectation that the streets in the native part of the town would have received new names as those in the European quarter have lately done." This plan, which was 33 inches by 14, points out all the streets, lanes, ghauts, &c. "The public buildings are also particularly distinguished, though from the smallness of the scale, it was found impracticable to lay down with any degree of distinctness every individual private house with its office, as they are laid down in the original" (from which this had been reduced,) "which is on a scale of about $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches to a mile, whereas the scale of the reduced copy is little more than $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches to a mile." Price 25 sicca rupees mounted on roller.

A "General Military Register of the Bengal Establishment from the year 1760 to 1795" is advertised as being in the Press and to be issued, in 1795, at one gold mohur a copy. This was virtually the first *Bengal Army List* as it contained "a view of the military establishment, as it stood in the year 1760, and the names of all the officers that have been admitted since that time alphabetically arranged under the respective heads of Infantry, Artillery, Engineers and Surgeons, showing in separate columns, the dates of their appointment, whether in Europe or in India, dates of promotion through all the ranks of the Army—resigna-

tions, readmissions, dismissions and restorations, together with casualties, and remarks, mentioning the times and places of their decease, &c., &c., as far as can be ascertained from the official records of the Military Department." Mr. White was the author, and Mr. Thomas Livingstone, at the Mirror Press, No. 158, Chitpore Road, was the publisher. The advertiser comments on the quality of the work; he announces as follows:—"It is unnecessary to comment on the utility of a work exhibiting in a compendious form a complete view of the Bengal Army, from the earliest records to the present time. The historian and the antiquary will find it an useful assistant in their respective departments; and individuals in general, who may be desirous of ascertaining the fate of their friends, relations and acquaintances, will be enabled from such a register, to gratify their curiosity by the most simple and ready reference."

"Thoughts on Duelling" is advertised as being (in 1793) about to be printed, and subscriptions for the work are said to be received at "the Library"—a public library probably. Of the whereabouts of this building we have not been able to find any trace. There must have been a library previous to this time, as we find that on the 30th of March, 1792, the books belonging to "the late Calcutta Circulating Library" were sold at the *new* Court House.

The publication "by authority of the Honorable Court of Directors of the East India Company," of Symes' "Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava," is announced (August 22, 1799) at a price of fifty rupees per copy. Mr. Symes was sent by the Governor-General of India in the year 1795, to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the sovereign of Ava, "an empire, imperfectly known, though important and extensive."

Dr. Patrick Russell's "Account of Indian Serpents, collected on the coast of Coromandel, giving an exact description, illustrated with a drawing, highly colored, of each species, together with experiments and remarks on their several poisons," is advertised for sale at thirty-five sicca rupees a copy. Also "The third number of Drawings of Indian Plants, by Dr. Roxburgh," price twelve sicca rupees.

Edward Scott Waring advertises his forthcoming work, a History of the Mahrattas, to which is prefixed a History of the Deccan, from A. D. 1000. Subscription, fifty rupees.

The "Mohumadan Law of Inheritance" was published by Sir William Jones at sixteen sicca rupees a copy, the proceeds from the sale of which he generously devoted to the aid of insolvent debtors. We do not suppose the proceeds could have gone a great way towards the help of these poor men, unless in those palmy days there were very few debtors in the jail. It must be recollected, however, that there were no bankruptcy courts in 1792, and prisoners for debt languished for years in the jail, and some even died without being able to get themselves relieved. Sir William Jones's help, therefore, was very commendable.

Captain William Francklin advertises the publication of his "History of Shah Aulum" (1798).

"With the approbation and permission of Earl Cornwallis, Lieutenant Colebrooke proposes to publish by subscription twelve views of the most remarkable forts and places in the Mysore country, from drawings taken on the spot." Subscription of each set, one hundred and twenty Arcot rupees.

George Forster, of the Civil Service, announces the early appearance of the first volume of his "Journey from Bengal to England through the northern part of India, Kashmire, Afghanistan, and Persia, and into Russia by the Caspian Sea ; sketches of Hindoo mythology, and an abbreviated history of the Rohillas, Shujah-ud-dowlah and the Sikhs." Price, twenty-five sicca rupees.

The prospectus appears in 1803, of a plan for the publication of the Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, who by extraordinary talents and enterprize, rose from an obscure situation to the rank of a general in the service of the native powers. This work was published by the authority of His Excellency the Most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General and Captain-General in India, &c., &c., by William Francklin, Captain of Infantry. Subscription, fifty rupees.

The "Oriental Obituary, or a record to perpetuate the memory of the Dead, being an impartial compilation from

monumental inscriptions of 'the tombs of those persons, whose ashes are deposited in this remote part of the world,' is advertised for sale at sa. Rs. eight. The compiler of these selections is in possession of a copy of this work. Messrs. Holmes and Co., undertakers in Calcutta, many years afterwards, published a more complete Register under the same title, much of the information in which was obtained from the work noted above, which was published in 1809.

Grace's Code of Bengal Military Regulations is advertised as for sale at the *Calcutta Gazette* Press, in July 1810, at 50 Rupees per copy.

We have in the *Asiatic Journal* of June 1829, a review of a work then just published, entitled "The Bengalee ; or Sketches of Society and Manners in the East ;" we reproduce the notice of it from the *Journal* above named :—"It is to be regretted that we have so few of these lively descriptions of "Life as it is" in India. Ably delineated pictures of Anglo-Indian manners, communicated in the convenient vehicles of a well-constructed tale, such, for example, as *Hajji Baba*, which so accurately portrays the manners of Persia, would tend materially to lessen the hitherto unconquerable repugnance of the public taste to oriental topics. A work of this nature we have just seen, which exhibits some lively and agreeable pictures of society among the various classes of Englishmen resident in the East. The work is of a miscellaneous character, consisting of tales, poetry, characters, &c., connected loosely together by a narrative of the author's supposed history, from his arrival in India, at the close of the last century till his return to England, on receiving a hint from the *cholera morbus*.

"He began his career as a lover ; the deep blue eyes of a certain Lucinda captivated his soul ; he breathed his passion, and was told he must have made a mistake. His disappointment made him first a misanthrope ; he was invited to join a *Jawab club* (of rejected suitors) ; he foreswore beef, and became almost a convert to Hindooism. From this fit of abstraction he was rescued by witnessing a hurricane on the Ganges, when a pinnace was exposed to the danger

of being engulfed in the rapid stream ; but by the *Bengalee's* assistance she was secured, with her passengers. one of whom, as might be expected, was the identical blue-eyed damsel, now a wife and a mother. Such is the author's history."

This amusing volume was the production of Captain H. B. Henderson, of the Bengal Army.

[Advt.] "Sheet Almanac for the year 1785, particularly adapted for Calcutta, containing the month and week days, holidays, sun and moon's rising and setting, time of high-water at Calcutta and a table showing the time of high-water at the following places throughout the year, viz., Pointjelly, Fulta, Culpee, Kedgere, Indialee, Eastern and Western Braces ; also a table of the Kings and Queens of Great Britain, a table of Remarkable Events since the creation, and three tables and examples for reducing Sicca Rupees into Arcot, Arcot into Sicca, and Sicca into current."

Mr. Mackay advertises the publication of the "Indian Calendar, containing lists of the civil and military servants, on the Bengal Establishment," to which was attached "the English, Mahomedan and Hindoo Almanack." Price, ten sicca rupees. November 1787.

The "British India Almanack" is advertised to be published at the "World" press, 1793, at a price of four rupees a copy ; also a "Sheet Almanac," at three rupees.

The first volume of the Calcutta Annual Directory and Calendar was published in 1801.

An advertisement appears on the 12th July, 1804, for printing a "Monthly Directory, or Civil and Military List of Bengal"—this was to be compiled from *official documents*. The price of the work was two rupees per *mens*.

The "original" Calcutta Directory was published first in 1799, at the Morning Post office.

Vernacular Press

The most ancient specimen of printing in Bengalee, that we have, is Halhed's Grammar, printed at Hooghly in 1778. Halhed was so remarkable for his proficiency in colloquial Bengalee, that he was known when disguised in a native dress to pass as a Bengalee in assemblies of Hindoos.

The types for the grammar were prepared by the hands of Sir C. Wilkins, who by his perseverance amid many difficulties, deserves the title of the Caxton of Bengal. He instructed a native blacksmith, named Panchanan (a very illustrative name) in type-cutting, and all the native knowledge of type-cutting was derived from him. One of the earliest works, printed in Bengalee, was Carey's translation of the New Testament, published in 1801. The life of Raja Pratapaditya, "the last King of Sagur," published in 1801, at Serampore, was one of the first works written in Bengalee prose.

The first Bengalee newspaper, that broke in on the slumber of ages, and roused the natives from the torpor of selfishness, was the *Durpun* of Serampore, which began its career on the 23rd May, 1818. The Marquis of Hastings, instead of yielding to the imaginary fears of enemies to a free press, or continuing the previous policy of government by withholding political knowledge from the people, gave every aid to the *Durpun*. Under the regime of the Marquis the first impulse was given to the vernacular newspaper press. He himself afforded every encouragement to native education as he was not one of those who thought the safety of British India depended on keeping the natives immersed in ignorance. He was a man that did not shrink, in 1816, when addressing the students of Fort William College, from avowing the noble sentiment—"It is human—it is generous to protect the feeble ; it is meritorious to redress the injured ; but it is godlike bounty to bestow expansion of intellect. to infuse the Promethean spark into the statue, and waken it into a man." On the publication of the first number of the *Durpun*, the Marquis wrote a letter with his own hand to the editor, expressing his entire approval of the paper. The *Durpun* had a long life ; we believe it existed for fully thirty years, and carried out the principles on which it started throughout its career.

Rammohun Roy commenced in 1821 a Bengalee periodical, called the *Brahmanical Magazine* ; "its career was rapid, fiery, meteoric ; and both from want of solid substance, and through excess of inflammation, it soon exploded and disappeared."

Almanacs form a class of works that were compiled at an early period in Bengalee. Previous to 1820, these were in manuscript, but were commenced in that year to be printed. The Hindoo Almanac for 1825 was printed at Agardwip, where the first press was established that was conducted by Indians.

The *Chundrika* newspaper started in 1821; it was the consistent advocate of thorough-going Hindoo orthodoxy.

The *Kaumadee* newspaper was published in 1823; it was the organ of Rammohun Roy, and was designed to counteract the influence of the *Chundrika*.

The *Banga Dut* commenced in 1829, under the management of Mr. R. Martin, Dwarkanath Tagore, Prosonno Coomar Tagore, and Rammohun Roy.

We have thought it necessary to notice these first productions of the Bengalee newspapers. They increased rapidly in numbers; so that in 1830, there were published in Calcutta sixteen newspapers; of which three were dailies, one tri-weekly, two bi-weekly, seven weekly, two bi-monthly, and one monthly. The number of subscribers to these various publications was stated to be about 20,000.

In April 1792, was published a Descriptive Poem by Kalidas—*The Seasons*—in the original Sanskrit. The first book that had ever been printed in that language. Price 10 sicca rupees.

With reference to the disposition of the Court of Directors to encourage Indian literature, as intimated in their despatch of the 25th May, 1798, and the collection and preservation of oriental manuscripts and publications, the Court now intimated (19th June, 1806) "that the apartments for the oriental library being completed according to our intentions, have been placed under the charge of Mr. Charles Wilkins, formerly of our civil service in Bengal, and that a considerable number of manuscripts, and printed books on oriental subjects, with objects of natural history and curiosity, have already been placed in it, among which are many valuable presents from individuals and public bodies in this country."

The public in India were invited by the Governor-General to transmit "whatever books in any of the Asiatic

languages or other articles coming within the object of the Hon'ble Court's collection," through the Indian government as presentations to the Library and Museum in Leadenhall Street.

The first number of a new periodical paper under the title of *The Vakeel*, is advertised to appear on New Year's Day, 1813, from the Telegraph office, Tank Square, to be continued on the 1st and 15th of each month.

A native newspaper, published in the Persian language and under the title of the *Shems-al-Akhbar*, terminated its career in 1827, the editor having discovered that he had got too far before "the age," to realize his visionary dreams of improving and enlightening his countrymen, or even to earn *curry-bhat* by his vocation.

"Be it known to all men," says he—"that from the time this paper, the *Shems-al-Akhbar*, was established by me, to the present day, which is now about five years, I have gained nothing by it except vexation and disappointment, notwithstanding what idle and ignorant babblers may please to assert. The inability of the public in the present day to appreciate desert, and their indifference to the exhausting and painful exertions made in their cause, verify the verse : 'I have consumed, and my flames have not been seen ; like the lamps in a moonlight night, I have burnt away unheeded.' It is time, therefore, to desist, and, withdrawing my hand from all further concern with this paper, I have determined to repose on the couch of conclusion."

The *Megha Duta or Cloud Messenger*, a poem in the Sanskrit language, with a translation into English verse. by Horace Hayman Wilson, was published at the close of 1813. Price Sa. Rs. 16.

In the early part of 1831, a weekly paper, edited by Indians, and entitled the *Reformer*, was started in Calcutta. We copy the editor's "address to our countrymen," which is unique, and shows the state of education then prevalent among the natives, and how ready they were to take advantage of the liberty which the fourth estate enjoyed under the government of Lord William Bentinck. The "address to our countrymen," appears in No. 2 of the *Reformer* in 1831 :—

"It is indeed gratifying to my feelings to observe, that in proportion as our understandings expand, as our feelings take the right course, and as our minds shake off the shackles of ignorance and superstition, means are taken by those to whose zeal in this good cause the native community are not a little indebted for raising them towards the meridian of all that is good and great. Whatever may be the opinion of those who advocate the continuance of the state of things as they are, there will come a time when prejudice, however deep and ramified its roots are reckoned to be, will droop, and eventually wither away before the benign radiance of liberty and truth.

"It is not on a mere theoretical presumption that we raise this great and noble fabric of what must be estimated the only means of happiness to mankind. The influence of liberty and truth has spread and is spreading far and wide, and nothing can check its course. There was a time when the natives of this country were looked upon as a race of unprincipled and ignorant people, void of all the qualities that separate the human from the brute creation. But look at the contrast now. Is it possible that at the present day an impeachment of such a dark character will be allowed to bear the slightest colour of truth?

"The retrospect is indeed sad—pitiable; but we have relinquished the notions that had made it so. We are, as it were, regenerated in the light and by the influence of principles, that testify the truth of our being made after the image of our Maker. Our ideas do not range now on the mere surface of things. We have commenced probing, and will probe on, till we discover that which will make us feel we are men in common with others, and, like them, capable of being good, great, and noble. We have been sufficiently degraded and despised, and will no longer bear the stigma. We cast off prejudice, and all its concomitants as objects abhorrent to the principles which are calculated to ennoble us before the world."

"Assisted by the light of reason, we have the gladdening prospect before us, of soon coming to that standard of civilization, which has established the prosperity of the European nations. Let us then, my countrymen, pursue

with diligence and care, the track laid down by these glorious nations. Let us follow the ensign of liberty and truth, and, emulating their wisdom and their virtues, be in our turn the guiding needle to those who are blinded by the gloom of ignorance and superstition."

Bengali Literature

Surendra Krishna Dutt gives us in the *Bengal Magazine* an account of the rise and progress of Bengalee literature, which we have appropriated with some alterations.

Bengalee literature commenced at about the same time with that of England; and the earliest Indian writers appeared just when Chaucer and Gower were writing in England. But while, owing to the early introduction of the art of printing in England, we are acquainted with the main facts connected with the rise and progress of English literature, and the transitions it has undergone, we are almost completely in the dark as regards the early stages of Bengalee literature; since the art of printing has been made use of in Bengal only in modern times. We know nothing of the lives of ancient authors; and the only lights that we get in our enquiry consist of small passages in their own writings which have come down to us in a mutilated and interpolated form. As regards the languages, a chronological review of the works of the Bengalee writers slowly leads us from a crude form of the Hindee, which prevailed in Bengal in the 14th century, to the polished Bengalee of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.

Vidyapati is the name of the earliest poet,—the Chaucer of Bengal. Only a few of his songs have come down to us. He wrote about 1389 A. D., and his language is a crude form of Hindee. From his writings it appears that he was a follower of Krishna. Contemporaneously with him there lived another poet—Chandi Das. Of him we know nothing, except that his name was mentioned by Vidyapati in his songs. He too was a follower of Krishna.

From the earliest times the literature of Bengal may be appropriately divided into two classes, *viz.*, the Tantrika and the Bhagavat;—the former school of poets being the worshippers of Sakti, and the latter the worshippers of Krishna. The Tantrikas worshipped Sakti, *i.e.*, a female

representation of the Creative Power, but the worship degenerated into debauchery, and the works and lives of the Tantrikas of later days are characterized by lewdness and immorality. The Bhagvat school began long before the time of Chaitanya, but that great reformer swelled the tide of protests against Tantrika morality, and from his time the Vaishnava religion gained strength.

The history of Bengalee literature is lost in confusion for over a hundred years after the time of Vidyapati, and all that we can discover are a few glimmering stars twinkling in the distance of time. Thus the dark age of Bengalee literature corresponds with the dark age of English literature, both occupying the entire 15th century of the Christian era. About the beginning of the 16th century when Luther was thundering in Europe, Chaitanya began his work of reformation in Bengal, and the literature of his period presents us with a mass of *Kirtans* or songs of praise of Krishna. It was at this period that Krishna Dass Kaviraj wrote the *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*, or the nectar of the life of Chaitanya. The language of this book is comparatively free from the Hindce element, and the work describes with sincere eulogium the work of the great reformer.

The bright reign of Elizabeth in England was contemporaneous with the gorgeous reign of Akbar in India, and the causes which led to activity of thought and action in England at this period operated at the same time at which the wholesome reforms brought about by Todar Mal induced a similar activity of the intellect in Bengal. To complete our comparison, we need only mention that Kirtibas and Kasiram Das—the two poets whose names are most widely known and dearly cherished through the length and breadth of Bengal—wrote precisely at the times when Shakespeare and Milton wrote in England, respectively.

On the life and acts of Kirtibas we have a very meagre account. He was born in Foolia, a village near Santipur in the classic soil of Nuddea; and he describes himself as the grandson of Murari Ojah, a well-known exorcist. He flourished at the end of the 16th century, and his great work, as everybody knows, is the translation of the *Ramayana* from the Sanskrit. We are told, however, that he did

not know Sanskrit, and that he gleaned the story from the *speakers* or minstrels who, from a very remote period, use to chant and explain mythological stories from the Sanskrit to the assembled people. The language of Kirtibas's version of the Ramayana is almost entirely free from the Hindee element, and is simple and easy, and void of art. At the same time it displays graphic power of description as well as tenderness and pathos.

It was at this time that the Bengalee language was undergoing a great change. The great Akbar, with the intention of consolidating his empire, introduced the system of bestowing responsible posts on the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal, and this necessitated the cultivation of the Persian tongue by the native Hindus. Todar Mal's new system of land administration also flooded the Bengalee tongue with Persian words, and up to this time the language of the Court and the language of the zemindar's sherista are full of Persian words.

It was at this time that Makunda Ram Chakravarti lived and wrote, and some of his works are saturated with Persian. The poet was born in Damunya, a village in the district of Burdwan. The strength of Makunda Ram lay in imaginative description, and he has given us an account of the manners and customs of that period. He is said to have invented charades and enigmas; his descriptions are natural and appropriate, and his love scenes are singularly devoid of obscene or vulgar expressions. The popular praise of Ganga in Bengalee is attributed to him, but we do not find it in his works. He flourished about 1620 A.D.

The next poet of note is Kasi Ram Das, the translator of the Mahabharata. He was born in Siddhigram, in the district of Hooghly, and was a Kayastha by birth. There is a tradition that he lived to complete only three books and a part of the 4th out of the 18 books of the Mahabharata,—and that his son-in-law did the rest. The Mahabharata is perhaps the most popular book with the matrons of Bengal. Kasi Ram Das wrote about the middle or close of the 17th century.

The melodious and pathetic songs of Ram Prasad Sen must ever overwhelm every feeling heart with sadness and

woe. This genuine but unpretending poet was born in Halishaher Pergunna in a village called Kamarhatea, and was a Vaidya by caste. In 1723 A. D. he became a *Sircar*, i.e., account keeper to a gentleman of affluence. But yielding to the strong propensities of his nature he wrote poems and songs in the account books, which offended the head sircar, who produced the books to the master. The master, it would seem, was a man of feeling and good taste, and instead of censuring the bad accountant loved the genuine poet, and allowed him 30 Rs. per mensem so that he might indulge his natural propensities and write poetry and songs. Thus honored, Ram Prasad retired to his native village, and became known to several *jatra-wallas*, who paid him for his touching songs. But Ram Prasad was a poet to the bottom of his heart, and his soul was full of charity and melted at the sight of woe, so that though he had a tolerably decent income he could not save a pice, and was often in distress. While thus living in retirement, he became acquainted with the munificent Raja Krishna Chandra Raya of Nadia, who was so pleased with his life and his songs, that he gave him 14 bighas of Lakhraj lands, and bestowed on him the title of Kavi Ranjan for having composed a poem, the *Vidya Sundara*, which is now lost. On one occasion the poet accompanied the Raja to Moorshedabad.

Like other Tantrika poets he was addicted to drink, but when reproved he replied in a most feeling and touching song that he was not drunk, but that his soul was drunk with the love of *Sakti*. He died in 1762—it is said by jumping into the river Ganges with an image of Kali, which was thrown in after the ceremony of the *puja* was over.

We next come to the renowned poet Bharat Chandra Raya. He was the greatest ornament of the court of the renowned Raja Krishna Chandra Raya of Nadia, who favoured him highly and gave him some lands near Mulojor, where Bharat retired in his after life. His principal work is the *Annanda Mangala*, of which the *Vidya Sundara* is the most famous. The Bengalee language owes much of its sweetness and richness to this poet, who was singularly happy in the expressions he used.

We pass over a long list of minor poets, and only stop

to mention the name of the great Ram Mohan Raya. The impetus which he and his followers have given to the prose literature of Bengal must be thankfully acknowledged by every one. As a poet, Ram Mohan Raya wrote some songs which are full of feeling and moral sentiment.

Madan Mohan Tarkalankar was a more thorough poet. He was born in 1816, and served the British Government as a Deputy Magistrate. His beautiful poetry is appreciated and read by every educated Bengalee. He died in 1858.

Iswar Chandra Gupta bears a still nobler name in the annals of the poetic literature of Bengal. He was born in 1810 in the village of Kanchrapara on the Hoogly—almost opposite to the town of Hooghly, and was a Vaidya by caste. He contributed very largely to the formation of the prose literature of Bengal—himself conducting some of the earliest and best conducted newspapers of the country. His poetic talents were first called into play by his animosity towards Gauri Sankara Bhattachariya,—better known as Gur Guri Bhattacharjya ; and the rival effusions of these two poets may well form a chapter in the annals of literary disputes. It was about 1848, that we find Iswar Chandra Gupta writing the Hita Prabhakar, Prabodha Prabhakar, the Bodhendu Bikas, and a lot of other books and periodicals. He died in 1859.

Of the writings of Madhu Sudan Datta we shall say but little. He was born in the district of Jessore by the banks of the Kabatakkha, which he has immortalized in song, and after completing his education here, went to England and was called to the Bar. He began his practice at the Calcutta Bar with good success, but genuine poet that he was, he was ill suited for the legal profession. His last years were spent in penury, and he died deeply lamented.

Translations of Popular Vernacular Songs

Tara Ba Tara. By Hafiz.

Singer, O sing with all thine art,
 Strains ever charming, sweetly new ;
 Seek for the wine that opens the heart,
 Ever more sparkling, brightly new !

With thine own loved one like a toy,
Seated apart in heavenly joy,
Snatch from her lips kiss after kiss,
Momently still renew the bliss !

Boy with the silver anklets, bring
Wine to inspire me as I sing ;
Hasten to pour in goblet bright
Nectar of Shiraz, soul's delight.

Life is but life, and pleasure's thine
Long as thou quaff'st the quick'ning wine ;
Pour out the flagon's nectary wealth,
Drink to thy loved one many a health.

Thou who hast stole my heart away,
Darling, for me thy charms display ;
Deck and adorn thy youth's soft bloom,
Use each fair dye and sweet perfume.

Zephyr of morn, when passing by
Bow'r of my love, this message sigh,
Strains from her Hafiz fond and true,
Strains still more sparkling, sweetly new !

Song, from the Cashmerian

A correspondent writing to the *Calcutta Gazette* on the 9th June, 1808, says—"Happening to attend a Cashmerian nautch a few nights ago, I was struck with the melody and effect of one of the native airs, which so much attracted my attention that I procured a copy and version of the song. The original is the Cashmeree language, and the version has only the merit of being faithful :—

O say what present from your hand
Has reached me save caresses bland ;
And oh ! was present e'er so dear
As love's soft whispers to my ear.

Mark, in affliction's sad decay,
 How this poor frame wastes fast away ;
 I languish, faint, from eve to morn,
 Nor taste of food one barley-corn ;
 When death thy cruelty shall bring,
 Then wilt thou feel the scorpion's sting.

Thou, a gay martial cavalier,
 All open force disdain'st to fear,
 Of wiles of love not well aware,
 Now art thou toiled into the same ;
 My rival's false insidious art
 Prevails, and triumphs o'er thy heart.

Bengalee Poem

There's one whose charms have pierced my breast, and set my heart
 in flame

Her father's only daughter she, and Veedyā is her name.

'Tis not for me those charms to tell : O ! would she were but mine !
 Though mortal hardly dare aspire to one almost divine.

They say that Love has never shown his shape to human eye,
 Yet who beholds my Veedyā, will the face of Love descry.
 Her dazzling beauty if the god at any time should see,
 I fear, alas ! that Ram himself my rival soon would be.

I'll write her songs, and pour my love-sick strains into her ear,
 The sacred odes of Nuddea shall my Veedyā often hear ;
 O would I were a bird that sung in Vriddahro's green grove !
 My notes might please the dainty ear of her I dearly love.

My Veedyā's beauty fills my head—I study nought beside ;
 My Veedyā's name I dwell upon from morn till even-tide ;
 She only is my ever hope, my wish, my aim, my end ;
 My orisons to Veedyā and to her alone ascend.

Street Ballad

The following is a translation of a native ballad of

Nuzeer, which is very popular among the poor in Indian crowds at melas, &c.

Without a penny—be content to scrape up dirty crumbs.
 With a penny—pick and choose, for every dainty comes.
 Without a penny—on the ground lay down your restless head,
 With a penny—like a king, loll on a feather bed.
 Oh! pennies are 'mong wordly things the most esteemed
 of any,
 And the penniless poor wretch is valued—less than half a
 penny.

A Poem by Khwaja Hafiz

During Mahmood Shah's reign the poets of Arabia and Persia resorted to the Deccan, and partook of his liberality. Meer Feiz Oollah Anjoo, who presided on the sea of justice, once presenting the king with an ode, received a thousand pieces of gold, and was permitted to retire to his own country, loaded with wealth and distinction. The fame of the king's taste, his affability and munificence spread so widely, that the celebrated poet of Shiraz, Khwaja Hafiz, determined to visit the Deccan, but was prevented by a train of accidents, which are thus related. Meer Feiz Oollah Anjoo sent to this famous poet a present from the king, and a letter from himself, promising, if he would come to Koolburga he should be handsomely rewarded, and have safe conduct back to Shiraz. Hafiz, from these kind assurances, consented, and having quitted Shiraz, arrived safely at Lar, where he assisted a friend who had been robbed, with part of his ready money. From Lar he was accompanied to Ormus by Khwaja Zein-ool-Abid-Deen Hamdany and Khwaja Mahomed Kaziroony, who were also going to visit Hindoostan. With these persons he took shipping in one of the royal vessels, which had arrived at Ormus from the Deccan, but it had scarcely weighed anchor when a gale of wind arose, and the ship was in danger, and returned to port. Hafiz suffered so much during the storm, that he insisted on being put ashore, and abandoned his voyage. Having written the follows verses, he delivered them to his companions to be given to Feiz Oollah Anjoo, after which he returned to Shiraz :—

Can all the gold the world bestows,
Though poured by Fortune's bounteous hand,
Repay me for the joys I lose,
The breezes of my native land !

My friends exclaimed, 'Oh ! stay at home,
Nor quit this once-beloved spot ;
What folly tempts thee thus to roam—
To quit Shiraz—desert thy cot ?

'Yon royal court will ill repay,
Though all its gorgeous wealth be given,
The blessings which you cast away,
Health and content, the gifts of heaven ?'

The glare of gems confused my sight—
The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard ;
But now that I can feel aright,
I freely own how I have erred.

Though splendid promises were made,
How could such a dotard prove,
How could I leave my natal glade,
Its wines, and all the friends I love ?

Hafiz abjures the royal court—
Let him but have content and health ;
For what to him can gold import,
Who scorns the paths of worldly wealth ?

When Feiz Oollah received this poem, he read it to the King, who was much pleased : and observed, that as Hafiz had set out with the intention of visiting him, he felt it incumbent not to leave him without proofs of his liberality. He therefore entrusted a thousand pieces of gold to Mahomed Kasim Meshidy, one of the learned men at Koolburga, to purchase whatsoever, among the productions of India, was likely to prove most acceptable, in order to send them to the poet at Shiraz.

The Nautch Girl's Songs

The following is a translation of a well known "Gaz'l" of Hafiz, which is often sung by the nautch girls in Bengal :—

Whilst banished from my love I pine,
Ask me not what pangs are mine ;
And ask me not the fair one's name,
Whose matchless charms my heart inflame.
Ask me, O ask me not to tell
How many bitter tear drops fell,
When my fond eyes last saw her face,
And her retiring steps did trace.
Nor ask me basely to betray
The tender words the maid did say ;
Or if her lip I dared to press,
Ask not Hafiz to confess.
Doomed now to nurse eternal care,
O ask not what my sorrows are ;
An exile from the charmer's gate,
What tongue can tell my wretched state !

Working of the Censorship

It is known that the Hindoos and Chinese contend for the invention of the press. It was first brought into use in India by the Portuguese, who established some presses at Goa.

The first newspaper started in Calcutta, as we have already stated, was, the *Bengal Gazette* on the 29th January, 1780. Mr. Hickey was the proprietor and publisher. If any one desire to satisfy himself of the low moral tone of society in Calcutta at that period, let him turn over the pages of that paper. It is full of infamous scandals—in some places so disguised as to be almost unintelligible to the reader of the present day, but in others set forth broadly and unmistakably ; and with a relish not to be concealed. Many of the worst libels appear in the form of fictitious race-meetings, law cases, warlike engagements ; or are set forth in the shape of advertisements. As this journal teems with vile abuse of Warren Hastings and his coadjutors, it

is not unlikely that the project was promoted, or at all events countenanced, by the powerful clique opposed to the Governor-General, namely Messrs. Philip Francis and Co.

The *Bengal Gazette* possessed all the venom for which Francis was noted, but lacked the ability of that gifted writer. As an example of the scurrilous attacks against the Governor-General and his friends, we shall quote the *dramatis personæ* of a "Playbill Extraordinary" inserted in its columns. There Warren Hastings figures as "Don Quixote fighting with windmills, by the Great Mogul, commonly called the Tyger of War"; Impey as "Judge Jeffreys, by the Ven'ble Poolbudy"; Chambers as "Sir Limber, by Sir Viner Pliant"; Justice Hyde as "Justice Balance, by Cram Turkey," and the Rev. W. Johnson, the senior chaplain of the settlement, as "Judas Iscariot touching the forty pieces, by the Rev. Mr. Tally Ho!" The Grand Jury—this, of course, refers to Nundkumar's trial—are represented as "Slaves, Train-bearers, Toad-eaters, and Sycophants," *albeit* they were composed of independent gentlemen, merchants, &c., and among them was benevolent Charles Weston, who benefited many and wronged none, whether Europeans or Indians. Hickey describes himself there as "Cato, also the True-born Englishman!"

The play is stated to be "A Tragedy, called Tyranny in Full Bloom, or the Devil to Pay." Even poor Lady Impey was dragged in and insultingly alluded to thus: "Card Lasses and Pluckings at Lady Poolbudy's Routs." This was the style of vulgar lampoon indulged in by the *Bengal Gazette* regarding the then head of the Government and the principal personages belonging to it.

The advertisements, published in Hickey's *Gazette*, conclusively prove that Calcutta folks then had many amusements. The very first number mentions that, at the Calcutta Theatre, on an early date, would be acted the comedy of the "Beaux Stratagem," and that the Calcutta Races would be run; one of the prizes to be run for is stated to be "the subscription plate, value 2,000 sicca rupees."

It is but fair to state that Hickey did not merely publish libellous articles against Hastings and his partisans;

he slandered every one and any one he disliked right round. Even young ladies were most offensively alluded to under different *soubriquets*, which must have been transparent to every one composing the "Society of Calcutta" at that time. Among others, brought forward to the notice of the public, was one named "Hookah Tarban," said to be a Miss Wrangham. Gentlemen are, of course, similarly dealt with, and one Mr. Tailor figures in an unenviable light frequently as "Mr. Darzi." Such slanders being cast broadcast, it is not surprising to learn that those whom Mr. Hickey maligned did not submit tamely to insult as this paragraph will show—

"Mr. Hickey thinks it a duty incumbent on him to inform his friends in particular, and the public in general, that an attempt was made to assassinate him last Thursday morning, between the hours of one and two o'clock, by two armed Europeans, aided and assisted by a Moorman. Mr. H. is obliged to postpone the particulars at present for want of room, but they shall be inserted the first opportunity."

Four years later, or in March 4, 1784. a semi-official organ, named the *Calcutta Gazette*, came into existence, under the editorship of Mr. Francis Gladwin, which the Governor-General, Mr. Warren Hastings, and his council, declared to be published "under their sanction and authority."

It is impossible to turn over the Indian journals of 1788, and the few following years, immediately after laying down those of 1780-81, without being struck with the very different kind of reading which the society had begun to relish. The journals of 1788 are highly decorous and respectable. They contain no private slander, no scurrilous invective, no gross obscenity. The papers abound in descriptions of balls and plays, but in them is nothing offensive.

The journals of 1793 were as regardful of the feelings of society as those of the present day; they were scrupulously courteous to individuals, and delicately fearful of giving offence.

No restriction was placed on writing until 1798. Up to that time the press in India was on the same footing with

the press in England ; with this exception, that the Governor-General might take away the license of any individual, and prevent him from remaining in India ; not the press license, but the license under which his residence was allowed. In all other respects the press was the same as in England.

Mr. Hickey was, in the time of Warren Hastings, tried and condemned for a libel ; but he was afterwards forgiven by his prosecutor. Colonel Duane, a gentleman who afterwards signalized himself in America, was banished by the Marquis Cornwallis ; and Dr. Maclean, another distinguished individual was sent away by the Marquis Wellesley. This led to a censorship, which was never registered in the Supreme Court. But, as the Governor-General possessed the power to remove any individual, he exercised that power to fix restraints on the press ; and thus the censorship was established.

As an evidence of the working of the censorship which then existed on the Press, the following paragraph from the *Calcutta Gazette*, the Government organ, on the 10th February, 1785, will be of interest : "We are directed by the Honorable the Governor-General and Council to express their entire disapprobation of some extracts from English newspapers which appeared in this paper, during a short period when the editor was under the necessity of entrusting to other hands the superintendence of the Press." How puerile for the Government of the day to disapprove of extracts from English newspapers ; had the paragraphs objected to been Calcutta editorials, there might have been some reason in the disapproval. It must have been a difficult matter surely to steer clear of shoals and rocks under such a despotic Government.

In 1818, the Marquis of Hastings abolished that censorship. The restrictions or regulations which the Marquis of Hastings imposed in lieu of the censorship were never registered. They only operated through the Governor-General (without the concurrence of his council), in whose hands were placed the power of banishing any European he might think fit ; but it remained a dead letter during the whole of Lord Hastings' administration ; the consequ-

ence was, that while the noble Marquis governed the press was perfectly free. In that time seven newspapers were established.

It was no longer necessary to submit the proofs of a newspaper to the Secretary to Government before publication ; but still there were considerable restrictive rules imposed on the press, which were communicated to the editors in the following official letter :—"His Excellency the Governor-General in Council having been pleased to revise the existing regulations regarding the control exercised by the Government over the newspapers, I am directed to communicate to you, for your information and guidance, the following resolutions passed by His Lordship in Council. The editors of newspaper are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads :—1st. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honorable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of the council, of the judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. 2nd. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances. 3rd. The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India. 4th. Private scandal, and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissension in society."

The question of restrictions of the press of India (English newspapers of course), was the subject of an animated debate in the House of Commons.

On the 21st of March, 1811, Lord A. Hamilton moved "for copies of all orders, regulations, rules and directions promulgated in India since the year 1797, regarding the restraint of the press at the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, whether acted upon by the Government there, or sent out by the Court of Directors or the Board of Control. His object, he explained, was not to

find fault with any of the regulations to which his motion referred, but merely that an opportunity might be afforded of knowing what were the laws in existence upon the subject, and also upon what authority they had been established. By the existing regulations he understood no newspaper could be published in India which had not previously received the sanction of Government, on the penalty of immediate embarkation for Europe. The Secretary of the Government, in revising newspapers, was to prevent all observations respecting the public revenues and finances of the country ; all observations respecting the embarkations on boardship of stores or expeditions and their destination, whether they belonged to the Company or to Europe ; all statements of the probability of war or peace between the Company and native Powers ; all observations calculated to convey information to the enemy ; and the republication of paragraphs from the European papers which might be likely to excite dissatisfaction or discontent in the Company's territories. If the press was to be prevented from publishing anything on all these heads, he (Lord A. Hamilton) was at a loss to know what subject was left open to it."

The motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas, who said that "the noble lord seemed to infer that no restraint should be placed upon the press in India. If such was his meaning, he must say that a wilder scheme never entered into the imagination of man than that of regulating the Indian press similarly to the English. There could be no doubt that the very Government would be shaken to its foundation if unlicensed publications were allowed to circulate over the continent of Hindustan. There could be but two descriptions of persons in India—those who went to that country with the license of the Company, and those who lived in its actual service ; and there could be no doubt whatever that the Company had a right to lay any regulation it pleased on those who chose to live under its power, and who when they went into its territories knew the conditions of submission to its authority on which their stay depended."

In the course of the discussion which followed, Sir Thomas Turton spoke in a strain of severe sarcasm on the

principles of our government in India. He fully agreed that so delightful a plant as the liberty of the press could never flourish in the sterile soil of despotism. "Why," he asked, should you give Indians the advantage of knowledge? "You would only thereby be giving them the means of detecting your own injustice. You have ransacked their country, you have despoiled its people, you have murdered their princes; and, of course for your own protection, you must keep them deluded, deceived and ignorant. You might as well tell me of the liberty of the press in Morocco and Algier as under your government in India. According to the right honorable gentleman, the people of India are considered as nothing. If such is your principle, to keep them ignorant is as much your policy as to keep them enslaved has been your crime." Ultimately Lord A. Hamilton's motion was rejected. on a division, by a majority of 53 against 18. An argument used against it by one of its opponents was as ingenious as it was unanswerable.

"The liberty of the press was," he stated, "for the preservation of freedom; but as there was no freedom in India to preserve, there was no occasion for liberty of the press."

Mr. Buckingham took charge of the *Calcutta Journal* in 1818. It was his misfortune early in 1819 to incur the displeasure of the Governor-General. The first offence given by Mr. Buckingham was as follows:—"We have received a letter from Madras, with a deep mourning border, announcing the fact that Mr. Elliott is continued in his presidency of Madras for three years longer. This appointment is regarded as a public calamity in Madras, and we fear it will be looked upon in no other light throughout India generally."

But this was not the only offence committed; in Mr. Buckingham's paper there appeared many other paragraphs said to be calculated to create discontent, and alinate the affections and allegations of the native of that vast empire. The *Calcutta Journal* had a large circulation.

Mr. B. received repeated warnings from the Government, for inserting articles injurious to the interest of the East India Company. Amongst others was an attack upon

the Bishop of Calcutta, and the Bishop appealed to the Government. Upon one occasion proceedings had been instituted against Mr. B. in the Supreme Court, and a true bill found against him, yet Mr. B. went on publishing articles, attacking even the grand jury which had found the bill. While these proceedings were in progress, one judge was removed to Madras, another went home, and Sir Francis Macnaghten thought it best to postpone the inquiry. Sir Henry Bosset at length arrived, but his death shortly after caused the question to be postponed. Mr. Buckingham however continued his attacks on Government.

On the 15th March, 1823, Mr. Money, the Standing Counsel to the Company, laid before the Supreme Court, a "Rule framed by the Honorable the Governor-General in Council, to regulate the future publication of newspapers, &c., within the settlement of Fort William." The rule commenced as follows :—

"Whereas articles tending to bring the Government of this country as by law established, into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, have of late been frequently printed and circulated in newspapers and other papers published in Calcutta, for the prevention whereof it is deemed expedient to regulate by law the printings and publication within the settlement of Fort William, in Bengal, of newspapers, and of all magazines, registers, pamphlets and other printed books and papers, in any language or character published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news and intelligence, or strictures on the acts, measures and proceedings of Government or any political events or translations whatsoever, &c."

On its being read Mr. Fergusson, on behalf of the principal proprietor of the *Calcutta Journal* opposed its registration as being "repugnant to the laws of the realm." On the 21st March the arguments of the learned counsel were heard. Sir Francis Macnaghten was the presiding judge. After the merits and demerits of the Governor-General's order had been gone into by the Government advocate, as well as the opposing counsel, the judge gave a lengthy opinion on the question.

Here is the only important part which adverts to the liberty of the Press :—" It appears to me to be assumed in the argument that Calcutta is as free a land as England. Whether it be advisable for the liberties of England, or for the inhabitants of Calcutta, to grant a free constitution to India, I shall never enquire, but I shall always rejoice at the spread of liberty. I know that many are of opinion that India is a proper country for the introduction of the same liberties as those enjoyed by Englishmen at home, but I also know that others are of quite a different opinion.

Among these Sir William Jones, a zealous and ardent lover of liberty, is one ; and says that the introduction of liberty into India would be worse than the most odious tyranny. If we are to have a free constitution in India, I shall be glad if any one who can do so, will tell me upon what principle we can found our right to it. I must own I do not know the text or the comment. I confess I am at a loss whence the idea, that a British subject or any one else has a right to the liberties of England in this country, has arisen. I really know of no place where there is more rational liberty than in Calcutta. Industry is encouraged here, and I never knew an individual who had any claim to it, complain of a want of patronage and attention. I never was in any society, where individuals were more free, and fearless, and fearless they may well be, where they have nothing to fear in the expression of their sentiments. I say that a free press coming into contact with such a Government as this is, is quite inconsistent and incompatible, and they cannot stand together. What have been the consequences of Mr. Buckingham's transmission. A gentleman has come forward, has taken the charge of the paper and has told the Government that they cannot send him out of the country, do what he will. But may not a rule be established to meet such a case ? It is very true he cannot be sent out of the country, but where is the repugnance to the British law ? I repeat that this Government and a Free Press are incompatible and cannot be consistent."

It was then ordained that no such printed paper, &c., should be allowed without a license. And that all offences

against this rule should be visited by heavy penalties, and imprisonment.

On the 6th November of the same year, 1823, the full effect of the above rule was brought to bear upon the publishers of the *Calcutta Journal* and its Sunday supplement, the license for the publication of which was revoked and re-called.

Mr. Buckingham was brought into court, by the ordinary legal process, to answer for a libel on the six secretaries. Those individuals were perfectly right in bringing their action, if they thought that they had been slandered. A different course was pursued under Mr. Adam's administration, which followed.

Mr. Buckingham was banished ; and the licensing system was established, and the decree for that purpose registered in the Supreme Court. Thus then the matter stood :—At Madras, the Marquis Wellesley's censorship still prevailed ; at Bombay, the press remained in the same state as that in which it existed during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings : that is to say, properly speaking, there were no precise restraints on the press ; while, at Calcutta, the licensing system was adopted.

The Supreme Court of Justice at Bombay complained of the *Bombay Gazette*, for having miscolored, garbled, and misrepresented the proceedings of the court. It appeared that Mr. Warden, the chief secretary to the Government, was the proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette*, though the nominal owner and editor was a Mr. Fair. The Bombay Government was irritated at this, and they felt themselves obliged to send home Mr. Fair, on account of those miscolored statements. Mr. Warden, himself a member of the Government, garbled the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and the Government selected Mr. Fair, a man of straw, as the scapegoat and sent him home. Subsequently, Sir E. West compelled the editors to register their names.

The proceeding was much objected to by the Government of Bombay, but was at last legally enforced, and the Court of Directors acquiesced in that measure. They went one step further. They prevented any servant of the Government from writing in newspapers, or from embark-

ing property in such a speculation. On the 10th of July, 1826, the Supreme Court of Justice at Bombay were called on to register the Bengal regulations. This they refused to do ; and all the three judges pronounced it to be unlawful and inexpedient.

Under a free press such as formerly existed in Bengal, it was necessary in the first place to obtain a license, to enable an individual to reside in India ; it was exceedingly difficult to procure this, because the spirit of the Company's government was opposed to colonization.

In the second place, if the individual intended to set up a newspaper, he must possess very considerable capital ; for that purpose, six, eight or ten thousand pounds were requisite.

In the third place, they must be aware, that the editor of an opposition journal was frowned on by the Government, and therefore where everything was rewarded by patronage, he could not expect to obtain any situation of emolument.

Fourthly, the editor was subject to all the laws, with respect to the press, that were in force in England, and he might, after a second conviction, be banished, under the provisions of the six acts.

And fifthly, his license might, at any time, be withdrawn, by a sort of Star-chamber proceeding ; which, however, did not possess the advantages that were allowed in the Star-chamber, where a man was put on his defence. In India no trial was granted ; and several persons had been banished in that summary way.

To put the matter of the deportation of Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnot in a clear light, we quote the following from a speech made by Mr. D. Kinnaird, at a meeting of a Court of Proprietors at the East India House in July 1824 : —“ When the honorable Proprietor came to the last charge, which had been made by Mr. Adam against Mr. Buckingham, he inveighed strongly against that transaction. That charge was founded on an article written by the latter gentleman, in ridicule of the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Bryce, a Presbyterian clergyman, to the situation of Clerk to the Commissioners of Stationery. In consequence of the remarks made by Mr. Buckingham on that occasion,

he received a letter from the secretary to Government, ordering Mr. Buckingham immediately to leave the settlement and to proceed to Europe ; as if the safety of India were endangered because Mr. Buckingham, in a good-humoured article, laughed at the extraordinary appointment of Mr. Bryce—an appointment which had created disgust in Scotland, and which he believed had occasioned a good deal of animadversion in the General Assembly there. But even this was little compared with the conduct of Lord Amherst, who had removed from that country Mr. Arnot, an individual connected with the *Calcutta Journal*. Mr. Arnot was not the editor of that journal but an assistant in the office. The situation of editor was filled after Mr. Buckingham left India by Mr. Sandys, a Hindoo Briton, or half-caste, who being a native, could not be removed. Lord Amherst knew this ; and, as he could not molest Mr. Sandys, he laid hold of Mr. Arnot, who was an Englishman, and ordered him home. That individual went to Serampore. There, however, he was given up. He was shipped on board a vessel going round by way of Bencoolen, and not direct to England ; and in the unwholesome climate of Bencoolen he was obliged to remain for some time. It was quite evident that Mr. Arnot was selected as a victim to deter any other European from acting on behalf of Mr. Buckingham."

It was the custom in 1824, and some previous years, for the Government authorities at the Post Office to require that all letters sent by post to the *public journals* should have on their back the names of the persons from whom they came, that every correspondent with the public press might be known. This fact we learn from a speech made by Mr. Hume at the India House in July, 1842, and it is a very significant fact, as to the asserted liberty then given to the Press of India.

Mr. Hume remarked in a speech at the India House in July 1824 :—"It had been asserted that Mr. Adam had the power of putting down journals. If this was the case, then why had he not put down the *John Bull in the East*, which had been filled from the day of its commencement with every sort of abuse that could be scraped together

against Mr. Buckingham. Mr. B.'s journal had been put down, and yet the Government had not been able to point out a single libel in the whole of its numbers. But the reason was that the *John Bull* was the property of the servants of Government, and that it had been established by them expressly to write down the *Calcutta Journal*.

Many of the influential officers in India were at its head, and Mr. Greenlaw was the editor, yet with all this power and influence they were not able to destroy Mr. Buckingham, so at length as a final resource, they banished him."

The proprietor of the *Bengal Chronicle* (formerly the *Colombian Press Gazette*) having fallen under the displeasure of the Government, in consequence of some indecorous remarks in that paper, prayed the lenity of the Vice-President and engaged to dismiss his editor, named Sutherland, if his license was not revoked.

The Government agreed to the proposal, and Mr. Sutherland suffered for an offence which would be looked upon in a very different light at the present day. Mr. Adam succeeded him as editor, though it is asserted that Mr. Sutherland still continued writing for the paper and was considered as joint editor.

The proprietor of the *Bengal Chronicle* was Rosario, whose name still lives in the memory of the Calcutta world, as the head of a long established publishing and bookselling firm. Mr. Adam did not long continue as editor of the *Bengal Chronicle*, but established a paper of his own under the title of the *Calcutta Chronicle*, which was published three times a week.

On the 31st May, 1827, the Government suppressed the *Calcutta Chronicle*.

The following is a copy of the official communication from Government :—"Mr. Wm. Adam, and Mr. Villiers Holcroft, proprietors of the *Calcutta Chronicle*.—Gentlemen :—The general tenor of the contents of the *Calcutta Chronicle* having been for some time past highly disrespectful to the Government and to the Honorable the Court of Directors, and the paper of the 29th instant in particular, comprising several paragraphs in direct violation of the

regulations regarding the press, I am directed to inform you that the Right Hon. the Vice-President in Council has resolved that the license granted to you (on the 25th January last) for the printing and publishing of the *Calcutta Chronicle* be cancelled, and it is hereby cancelled accordingly from the present date. I am, &c. C. LUSHINGTON, Chief Sec. to Govt. Council Chamber, 31st May, 1827."

The censorship at Madras seems to have been exercised with a strictness and severity without parallel elsewhere. We are repeatedly presented with long stellated blanks, both in the *Madras Gazette* and *Madras Courier*, indicating the erasure of passages, the initial words of some of which lead us to believe that they could have contained nothing offensive.

For example, in the *Gazette* of April 22, 1829, occurs this passage :—"Mr. Deaman, we find, has at last been honoured with a silk gown, in terms very flattering"—(then follows a quarter of a column of stars.) The same paper of a different date, contains the beginning of some remarks upon a Calcutta work :—"In the *Asiatic Journal* for October is a letter on the subject of the new *Atlas of India*, a work projected on a large scale, particularly as applied to Southern India ; the maps of which, being on a scale of one mile to four inches, are drawn by the late Captain Mountford, than whom it could have devolved upon a more efficient person. To the most correct judgment he added the most accurate delineation and finest pencil possible to imagine. He excelled in whatever he undertook in the department to which he belonged." (Then follows a chasm of about the same length as the other). In the *Courier* of the 20th March, 1829, appears an entire column of stars ; the title of one of the blanks is "Calcutta" showing that the expunged passage must be an extract from a newspaper of that presidency.

A *Courier* of a subsequent date exhibits no less than five starred columns ! A passage, expunged by the censor from a Madras paper some time previous found its way into one of the Calcutta journals, and turned out to be a stricture, we may venture to say, perfectly harmless, upon Mr. Huskisson ! These frequent exertions of a very delicate

and invidious discretionary power, attracted much notice, and provoked some severe animadversions, at the neighbouring presidency.

In 1825 Sir Charles Metcalfe first declared that the spread of knowledge in India was of too paramount importance to be obstructed for any temporary or selfish purpose.

"I am inclined," said he then, "to think, that I would let it have its swing, if I were sovereign lord and master." Five years later saw him a member of the Supreme Council, and able to begin the battle in earnest with a minute, the words of which are singularly significant at present : —

"Admitting that the liberty of the press, like other liberties of the subject, may be suspended when the safety of the State requires such a sacrifice, I cannot as a consequence acknowledge that the present instance ought to be made an exception to the usual practice of the Government ; for if there were danger to the State either way, there would be more, I should think, in suppressing the publication of the opinions, than in keeping the valve open by which bad humours might evaporate. To prevent men from thinking and feeling is impossible, and I believe it to be wiser to let them give vent to their temporary anger in anonymous letters in the newspapers, the writers of which letters remain unknown, than to make that anger permanent, by forcing them to smother it within their own breasts, ever ready to burst out. It is no more necessary to take notice of such letters now than it was before. The Government which interferes at its pleasure with the press, becomes responsible for all that it permits to be published."

In January 1835, Lord William Bentinck received a petition from the people of Calcutta calling on him to repeal the old press regulations. But he returned to England before the petition was discussed, and Sir Charles Metcalfe was temporarily appointed head of the Supreme Council. "Sovereign lord and master," at last, he saw his opportunity, and saw, too, that it would not last long.

With the help of Macaulay, fresh then from penning a panegyric on Milton, the father of a Free Press in England, he was able to publish the draft of his famous Act by the April of this same year. The Calcutta memorialists

at once held a meeting and voted an enthusiastic address to Sir Charles Metcalfe, "Liberator of the Indian Press." The address he answered with straightforward honesty and earnestness, and with such freedom of utterance as must have shocked the conventional reserve and exclusiveness of Indian statesmanship. But the words well benefitted a manifesto invoked by the public expression of gratitude and approbation.

The new press regulation, though introduced in the spring, did not come into operation until the autumn, which proves that legislation was really a work of thought and consideration in those days ; and the freedom of the Indian Press dated from the 15th September, 1835. "It was a great day," says Sir John Kaye, "which the people of Calcutta were eager to celebrate. So they subscribed together, and they erected a noble building on the banks of the Hooghly to contain a public library, and to be applied to other enlightening purposes, and they called it the Metcalfe Hall. It was to bear an inscription declaring that the press of India was liberated on the 15th September, 1835, by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the bust of the Liberator was to be enclosed in the building."

Fugitive Notices of the Press

The following official announcement states that the *Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser*, which was started in 1784, was to be considered an official organ of all advertisements of the Government, the editorial management not being considered official :—"The Honorable the Governor-General and Council having permitted Mr. Francis Gladwin to publish a Gazette under their sanction and authority, the heads of offices are hereby required to issue all such advertisements or publications as may be ordered on the part of the Honorable Company, through the channel of his paper. W. BRUERE, Secretary. Fort William, 9th February, 1784."

The following advertisements we shall string together ; they are taken from the papers of 1793 :—

"A Masquerade," to be held on the 16th February at the Calcutta Theatre. Tickets at 20 rupees each.

"Narrative of the sufferings of James Bristow, belong-

ing to the Bengal Artillery, during ten year's captivity with Hyder Ally and Tippoo Saheb."

"Canary Birds," for sale at Serampore, by Mr. Meyer : two pair of very beautiful canary birds, which sing remarkably fine. Price 60 rupees per pair.

"Raja Camarupa ; an Indian tale, translated from the Persian, with notes, critical and explanatory, by Lieutenant William Francklin, and dedicated to Sir William Jones." Price of each copy, *two gold mohurs*.

To give our readers some idea as to the cost of books in 1821, we note the following prices of a few works then considered new, taken from an advertisement of Mr. Charles Wiltshire, a tradesman at Colvin's Ghaut :—Blair's Sermons, 5 vols., 8vo., 50 rupees ; Shakespeare's Hindostanee Grammar, Dictionary and Selections, 4 vols., 4to., 160 rupees ; Scott's Bible, 4 vols., 4vo., 128 rupees ; Whiston's Josephus, 4 vols., 8vo., 48 rupees ; Kimpton's History of the Bible, folio, 50 rupees ; Hewlett's Bible, 3 vols., 4to., 250 rupees ; Dodd's Bible, folio, 3 vols., 27 rupees ; Dr. Issac Watts' Works, 6 vols., 4to., 200 rupees ; Doddridge's Rise and Progress, 8vo., 10 rupees.

From Mr. Thacker's Catalogue, No. 249, opposite St. Andrew's Church, we take the following sale prices for some well known works :—Gibbon's Decline and Fall, 12 vols., 8vo., 80 rupees ; Hume's and Smollett's History of England, 21 vols., 12mo., 56 rupees ; Pinkerton's Geography, 2 vols., 4to., 80 rupees ; Meninski's Arabic, Persian and Turkish Lexicon, 4 vols., folio 136 rupees.

In a Government Gazette of the 31st May, 1821, we observe an advertisement of Muddoosoodun Mookerjee's Oriental Library, opposite St. Andrew's Church, corner of Tank Square. This bookselling concern continued in existence till within a few years ago.

In May 1821, Messrs. Samuel Greenway and Co. announce that they have admitted Mr. Samuel Smith into partnership in the "Bengal Hurkaru Newspaper and Library, Printing, Stationery and Bookselling concerns," and that the firm would henceforth be Greenway and Smith.

The order of Government forbidding civilians or mili-

tary men corresponding with the Press was to every intent and purpose, a perfect farce and dead letter.

Mr. Lang tells us that on the staff of the *Mofussilite*, which was published at Meerut in 1847 and for several years afterwards, were several gentlemen belonging to each branch of the service. These gentlemen not only wrote, but some of them wrote for pay; and their connection with the press was well known by those at the head of Government.

Major Thomas, who was killed in the field, was virtually the editor of the *Mofussilite*. H. B. Edwardes, of the Fusiliers, was the "Brahminee Bull" of the *Delhi Gazette*. Mr. Campbell, of the Civil Service, was the "Delator" of the *Mofussilite*.

A series of military articles written in the last named paper attracted the attention of Sir Charles Napier—they came from the pen of General (then Major) Mansfield, afterwards Commander-in-Chief in India. In all these instances the writers were not silenced, but received staff appointments.

On the surrender of the fortress of Agra to the British Army, under the command of Lord Lake, in the year 1803, the magazines and vaults were pointed out by some of the old residents of the place, and the massive and iron bound doors were soon made to give way to the efforts of the soldiery, who very soon emptied them of every thing which was portable.

In the evening of the day which saw this scene of confusion, Lieutenant Mathews of the Artillery went to view the interior of the fortress. Passing one of the vaults which had shortly before been plundered, he entered, and the first object which attracted his eye was a machine which to him appeared to be a European mangle. On closer inspection, however, he discovered it to be a printing press, and what was the more extraordinary, having the types ready set for some Oriental production.

Major Yule of the Bengal Army hearing of this, was anxious to know what the work was, which was most probably the very first that had been attempted to be printed in Hindustan, and that too under the auspices of the head

of the empire. Means were at once attempted to pull a proof sheet of the form ; this was done under manifold disadvantages, and the sheet disclosed six pages of the Koran. The face of the type was excellent, and it is a pity that the press with its type were not preserved ; but the ruthless soldiers pulled the whole machine to pieces and destroyed the types. This information is obtained from the *Asiatic Journal* for 1861.

CHAPTER X

THE PRESS OF THE UPPER PROVINCES

THE English press of the Upper Provinces dates as far back as 1822 ; and the Indian press we believe is of considerably shorter existence. Both European and Indian have, however, within this period risen to such importance in the statistics of India, that we think a brief sketch of the past and present state of the European press in those provinces will not be uninteresting.

The first printing press set up was at Cawnpore by Mr. Samuel Greenway, who was succeeded by his son, Mr. W. Greenway, in 1822.

The *Cawnpore Advertiser* was published there. Subsequently, in 1828, another newspaper was attempted at this press under the title of the *Omnibus*, but it lived only through a few numbers. It was a small and not very slightly quarto sheet, and from the first gave no promise of protracted existence.

The Calcutta papers were then the only organs of intelligence in the Upper Provinces, and heavy as were the rates of subscription and postage, there were few persons who did not contrive to see some one of the daily papers. Politics and Home news were then discussed and commented on with a great deal more earnestness than they are at the present day, notwithstanding that the news was six or seven months old ; increased rate of transit seems to have affected the public taste the contrary way, and European intelligence at the present day holds but a secondary place in the minds of the European community, while the importance of events in India during the last forty-five years have forced into greater notice local subjects obtained for it, what it should always have occupied, the primary place of interest in the minds of the governing body.

An offshoot from the Cawnpore press was established at Meerut in 1830, and in 1831 the *Meerut Observer* was published at that press. This journal had for some time

previously, (from 1827 we believe) been carried on in manuscript. It was edited by Capt. H. Tuckett, of the 11th Light Dragoons ; he was assisted by Capt. N. Campbell of the Horse Artillery, who wrote nearly all the articles on military affairs which appeared in that spirited little journal.

The military measures of Lord Wm. Bentinck were keenly opposed in Capt. Campbell's articles, and though seemingly unnoticed for a time by the head of the Government, an opportunity which presented itself afterwards was seized, whereby the arm of power was wielded, and Capt. Campbell felt its blow. For a dispute with his commanding officer, for which, though in the wrong, he would have been amply punished by a reprimand, Capt. Campbell was removed from his troop.

The world saw and judged the cause. Subsequently the *Observer* was edited by Lieut. Hutchins, Mr. Whiffen and others. It afterwards fell into the hands of Mr. H. Cope, then a man of great promise, and subsequently, the editor of the *Delhi Gazette* and still later of the *Lahore Chronicle*. The press also changed proprietorship and became the property of Mr. Cope. The *Meerut Universal Magazine*, or as it was familiarly called *Mum*, was commenced at the *Observer* press in 1835. It was a monthly magazine, and spiritedly conducted for some time, but ceased to exist in 1837. Mr. Lang afterwards endeavoured to resuscitate the magazine, but after two attempts abandoned the undertaking.

Colonel (then Capt.) Pew, Dr. Ranken and Mr. John Taylor, all residents of Delhi, joined by a few European and Indian gentlemen, considered the imperial locality quite as likely to afford profitable work, and extensive circulation to a paper as Meerut and Agra, and soon after the birth of the *Agra Ukbar*, the *Delhi Gazette* was ushered into the world, in 1833. It remained for several years in a fluctuating condition, edited alternately by Capt. Pew, Mr. Hollings, and Col. R. Wilson, then of the Palace Guards, and others ; when the Afghanistan campaign gave it an impetus as rapid as it was profitable, and by the commencement of the year 1866, under the editorial management of

Mr. Cope, it had attained as a half weekly a circulation of 1892, exceeding that of any other paper in India.

Besides the presses at Cawnpore and Meerut Mr. W. Greenway had an establishment at Agra (in 1838) where he set up a paper, called *Greenway's Agra Journal*, which was very respectably conducted for the time it lasted. This press was also employed in the publication of vernacular school books in the Hindoostanee language.

The sensation caused by the appearance of the *Meerut Observer* induced Dr. John Henderson to start a press at Agra in 1831, whence issued the first number of the *Agra Ukbar* in 1832, as a native paper in the Persian character ; his chief object being to give a correct report of the cases tried in the civil and criminal courts.

A few month's trial showed that the experiment was not likely to succeed ; but he was not a man to be put down by trifles, and so he converted the paper into an English one in November of that year. Its exterior was poor indeed, and until Mr. Henry Tandy became editor, it was in rather a sickly state. The talents and wit of that gentleman soon gave it a place among the leading journals of India, and he was moreover well supported by the members of the civil service in all parts of the country. His death in 1850 was the signal for the decline of the paper. Two relations of his, Messrs. A. and P. Saunders, succeeded him in the editorial chair ; but both soon followed him to the grave ; neither of them possessed a tithe of the talent of Mr. Tandy. The press was then sold to Mr. Grisenthwaite.

Blunders, actions for libel and other tokens of a sinking journal at last wrecked the *Ukbar*, and the entire establishment fell into the possession of the Agra and U. S. Bank, to whom the proprietors were at the time under pecuniary obligations. Capt. MacGregor, the secretary, ever energetic and active where the interests of his employers were concerned, would not allow the press to remain unprofitable, and brought out the *Agra Chronicle*, which he kept alive till the press was purchased by the proprietor of the *Delhi Gazette* ; the *Agra Messenger* published by the press under the editorial management of Mr. Mawson at the Agra press. was not an indifferent substitute for the well conducted

Agra Ukbar; it however flourished as a branch paper of the *Delhi Gazette* till the mutiny of 1857, when on the destruction of the materials of the *Delhi Gazette* press at Delhi, it took the name of the Delhi paper. The press was removed to Delhi in 1859, and subsequently to Agra, where it continued to be published.

In 1850 or '51, a magazine of great promise under the title of *Saunders' Magazine* was started at Delhi at the *Gazette* press; it had an existence of about two years. Men of great talent were liberally paid to be contributors to its pages, but notwithstanding it was found an unprofitable concern and was discontinued.

At the same time but at a different station, Agra, *Ladlie's Miscellany* sprang up, and soon obtained great excellence and support. This magazine afterwards passed into the hands of Mr. Gibbons of the *Mofussilite* press, and after a short existence was discontinued.

At Delhi besides the *Gazette* there was printed for some time before the mutiny and afterwards till about 1865; a monthly journal under the name of the *Delhi Sketch Book*, changed afterwards to the *Delhi Punch*, under the parentage of Mr. Wagentreiber. This as its name denoted was a humorous publication. It possessed much merit, the illustrations were good, though its letter-press was indiffer-

Besides the *Messenger* there was a press in the vicinity of Agra, which rose out of the anxious wish of the missionaries of the Church Mission to make the Secundra Orphan School useful to the public as well as to its inmates. It was started under the management of Mr. W. Greenway. The establishment was soon, owing to the unremitting care of its missionary managers, in a flourishing condition, and was extensively patronised by the Government of the N. W. Provinces. Mr. Longden was then Superintendent.

The *Agra Government Gazette*, the reports of the sudder and zillah courts, and in fact all the Government work was done at the Secundra press. During the mutiny this press was destroyed by the mutineers. It was however resuscitated at Allahabad in 1858 under Government patronage, and subsequently transferred to the Government. It

is now called the official press and all the Government work is done at it. The operations of this press are very extensive and embrace type-casting, stereotyping, binding and machine printing.

At Agra, previous to the mutiny, a religious monthly paper was published under the title of the *Secundra Messenger*. This was for a time extinguished during the stirring events of 1857, but was revived at Lahore in 1861.

After the removal of the *Observer* press, Meerut continued "benighted" for a period of several years, when Mr. Lang established the *Mofussilite* press on an extensive scale in 1846. The *Mofussilite* had been started in Calcutta as a literary weekly paper and had gained considerable favor with the public as a journal of great merit and capacity. It began its career in the mofussil just previous to a time of great excitement and interest, when the existing journals of the N. W. Provinces were clutched at (we cannot use a better word) with avidity by all classes of readers, in consequence of the important intelligence they contained regarding Afghanistan, Persia, Scinde and particularly the Punjab. This last mentioned portion of India was then on the eve of a revolution, and its approach was looked upon by all as inevitable.

The *Mofussilite* was started as a newspaper of the same size as the *Delhi Gazette*, and the ability and vivacity which were displayed in the writings of the editor, soon placed his journal high in the scale of mofussil journalism. The press was removed to Agra in 1853 or 1854, where it continued till 1860, when it returned to its original station at Meerut. Throughout the mutiny the *Mofussilite* was published in the Agra Fort and was an useful organ for disseminating official information. Since Mr. Lang's death, and even for some time before, the journal had lost a great deal of its former vigor and respectability. It was afterwards purchased by the proprietors of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and was merged in that publication.

At Meerut, in addition to the *Mofussilite*, there was started in 1840 an advertising medium under the title of the *Delhi Advertiser*. This was afterwards in 1852 enlarg-

ed and made into a newspaper by its proprietor, Mr. Copping of the Delhi Bank.

In the following year it was still further enlarged and became the *Indian Times*, and was printed till 1856 when the press was seized and sold. From its ruins Mr. David, the enterprising dawk-garrie proprietor, raised a job press which continued in active operation till the proprietor's demise.

At Allahabad Messrs. Greenway had a branch of the Cawnpore establishment, which was opened for business in 1836. From this press was issued the *Central Free Press* journal, the career of which was suddenly brought to a close by the entire destruction by fire of the press bungalow in 1837.

The American Presbyterian missionaries have been most active in extending the advantages of printing establishments in the upper provinces. They had extensive presses at Mirzapore, Allahabad, and Loodiana.

The last named press which had been established in September 1836, was destroyed by fire in 1847, but speedily placed on an efficient footing by the liberality chiefly of the British public.

During the mutiny it again suffered; some of the rabble managed to break in and destroy a great portion of the material, which was however replaced by a fine inflicted by the officials on the destroyers. At the second named station, Allahabad, the missionaries established a press in 1839, and went so far as to add type-founding to their other operations. They devoted their exertions chiefly to the printing of works required by them in their sacred vocation, and have done much towards fixing the character of Hindee, Goormookhee, and Davanagree letters. This press was partially destroyed by the mutineers in 1857; it has since been resuscitated and made over to some native converts, to be worked by them for the benefit of the mission.

At Mirzapore the Church Missionary Society have a press for the work of the mission. At this press is published a small monthly newspaper called the *Khwar-i-Hind or Friend of India*, in English and Romanized Hindi. The

journal has generally an illustration of some missionary subject, or a portrait of an Indian celebrity. ♪

In 1847 or 1848 Colonel Pew, and some others interested in the local bank, established a press at Benares, and started a newspaper called the *Benares Recorder*. The paper was continued about two years, but could never be said to be in a flourishing condition.

At Benares, after the dissolution of the *Recorder* press, Dr. Lazarus opened a small press in 1849, principally for printing the labels of his Medical Hall. By degrees this press extended its operations ; till now it is one of the completest of English and vernacular presses in India. It has stereotyping, type-founding, binding, ruling and machine printing.

In 1848 the Mirzapore press published a magazine with the title of the *Benares Magazine*, under the editorial management of some of the missionaries of the Church Mission and of Dr. Ballantyne, then the Principal of the College. This publication was discontinued in 1849.

The Hills used to boast of three presses. One was established by Mr. Mackinnon of the Brewery at Mussoorie, in 1859 or 1860. From this press issued a weekly paper called *The Hills*, conducted for some time by Capt. Begbie, and then by Mr. Mackinnon, Junior.

In consequence of the demise of the latter gentleman, the press was sold to Mr. G. B. Taylor, who carried on the paper for some time, but it was eventually given up. At Simla Dr. McGregor established a press, and published a weekly paper in 1849 called the *Mountain Monitor*, which lived but a short time and did little credit to its parent. That gentleman also tried a medical and literary periodical, which ran on an irregular course for a few numbers, and of which little can be said that is favorable. This press was afterwards, in 1850, sold to the Lawrence Asylum at Sonawar, and is now employed to teach the lads of that refuge the rudiments of printing.

Another press was started at Simla under the direction of Mr. Charde, at which the *Simla Advertiser* in English, and the *Simla News* in Ordoo and English, were published. Besides this there have been two or three attempts

to start a good newspaper ; one by Mr. Jephson in 1853, when the *Military Gazette* appeared, but this only existed a very short time. Mr. Moor in 1863 brought out the *Himalayan Star*, which also had but a short existence.

The present Thomason College Press at Roorkee was commenced at Meerut in 1848 ; it was afterwards removed to Simla, and employed in printing the results obtained at the Magnetic Observatory there. In 1850 it was taken to Umballa, where it continued till January, 1852, when it was transferred to the college. It is a Government press, and its work consists chiefly of elementary and other works in connection with the college and the Government. It has a department for lithography, and also one for wood engraving, and some of the finest specimens of work in each of these branches are produced at this press.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION

Education in its Infancy

LET us turn to a spot, now much changed from its pristine desolate appearance, and long known by the name of Cooly Bazar. The pretty church, and the little white mansions, which now adorn the spot, were not then (in the latter part of the last century) to be seen. Small bungalows, like so many mounds of straw, broke the level prospect of the situation, and were the habitations of invalid soldiers, who had fought at Seringapatam, or helped to drive the enemy from the plains of Plassey. Living upon a rupee a day, these old pensioners smoked and walked, and slept their time away. One more learned, perchance, than the rest opened a school and while the modest widow taught but the elements of knowledge in the barracks of Fort William, the more ambitious pensioner proposed to take them higher up the hill of learning.

"Let us contemplate him seated in an old fashioned chair with his legs" (we are quoting the words of a writer in the *Calcutta Review*) "resting on a cane morah. A long pipe, his most constant companion, projects from his mouth. A pair of loose pyjamahs and a *charkanah* banian keep him within the pale of society and preserve him *cool* in the trying hot season of this climate. A rattan—his sceptre—is in his hand ; and the boys are seated on stools, or little morahs, before his pedagogue majesty. They have already read *three* chapters of the Bible, and have got over the proper names without much spelling ; they have written their copies—small, round, text and large hands ; they have repeated a column of Entick's Dictionary with only two mistakes ; and are now employed in working Compound Division, and soon expect to arrive at the Rule of Three. Some of the lads' eyes are red with weeping, and others expect to have a taste of the *ferula*. The partner of the pensioner's

days is seated on a low Dinapore matronly chair, picking vegetables, and preparing the ingredients for the coming dinner. It strikes 12 o'clock ; and the schoolmaster shakes himself. Presently the boys bestir themselves ; and for the day the school is broken up."

Such were the schools which soon after the establishment of British supremacy in the East, were formed for the instruction of youth of both sexes. They were looked upon simply as sources of revenue, and hence every individual in straitened circumstances—the broken-down soldier, the bankrupt merchant and the ruined spendthrift—set up a day school, which might serve as a kind of *corps de reserve*, until something better turned up.

As British supremacy began to extend, and the increasing demands of war and commerce caused an influx of Europeans into this land, greater efforts and on a larger scale, were made to extend the benefits of education and to elevate its tone.

Private Schools

In consequence of the increased demand for education, many enterprising individuals began to feel that schools would make capital speculations.

Mr. Archer was the first to establish a school for boys before the year 1800. His great success attracted others to the same field ; and two institutions speedily took the lead—Mr. Farrell's Seminary, and the Durrumtollah Academy, conducted by Mr. Drummond.

There was also a school conducted by Mr. Halifax, another by Mr. Lindstedt and a third by Mr. Draper. Annual examinations were first held by Mr. Drummond, and the first examination of this kind gave the death-blow to the rival seminary of Mr. Farrell's.

Besides the institutions which we have already mentioned there was one by the Rev. Dr. Yates for boys, and another by Mrs. Lawson for girls. The earliest school for young ladies was that of Mrs. Pitts ; and soon after many others were established, among which Mrs. Durrell's seminary enjoyed the most extensive support.

In April 1792, Mrs. Copeland started a young ladies' school in "the house nearly opposite to Mr. Nicholas

Charles' Europe Shop, where she proposes boarding and educating young ladies in reading, writing and needle-work."

We learn from an advertisement of Mr. George Furly, on the 23rd May, 1793, who was about to establish an "academy" "on the Burying Ground Road," where the rates for education were at that time :—First class Rs. 30 per month for board, lodging and education. Second class Rs. 40. Third class Rs. 64.

"ACADEMY.—The Reverend Mr. Holmes proposes opening an academy in Calcutta, for the instruction of youth, in the different branches of useful education. No. 74, Cossytullah Street. 16th December, 1795."

"W. GAYNARD, Accountant, begs leave to inform the Public, that he intends to open an ACADEMY, at his house, No. 11, Meredith's Buildings, for a few young gentlemen of the age of fourteen or upwards, (who may be intended for the mercantile line of life)—to instruct them in a perfect knowledge of Decimal Calculations, also to complete their education in the Italian method of Book-keeping, by a process, using the weights, measures and coins of the different markets of India. For particulars enquire of W. Gaynard, at his house aforesaid. Accounts and estates of co-partnership adjusted and settled as usual." (1795).

On the 1st May, 1800, a school was opened at the Mission House, Serampore ; terms for boarders, 30 Rupees per month, with tuition in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Persian or Sanskrit Rs. 35. "Particular attention will be paid to the correct pronunciation of the English language. A Persian and Sanskrit Munshi will be employed. Letters addressed to Mr. Carey, will be immediately attended to." This is the first intimation we have in the Calcutta papers of the location of the Baptist Missionaries at the Danish settlement of Serampore.

Here is the first instance that we have found of the establishment of a school, for the instruction of European children, in the upper provinces. Mrs. Middleton advertises on the 21st March, 1799, "having taken a house in an airy, healthy and agreeable situation at Dinapore," where she purposed "keeping a school for the tuition of

such young gentlemen and ladies as parents and guardians may think proper to commit to her charge." Her charges were two gold mohurs per month for boarders, and eight rupees for day scholars.

[Advt.] "John Stansberrow begs leave to inform the Public in general, that he proposes keeping a school for the purpose of educating children, male and female, upon the most reasonable terms. He will instruct them in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The girls will be taught needle-work and lacemaking. The terms are as follows :—

For boys, per month	...	...	Rs. 25
For girls, ditto	...	...	„ 30
For day scholars	...	...	„ 16

"He lives in a commodious garden at Mirzapoor, near Colonel Hampton's gardens. As he means to pay the greatest attention and pains to their education and good morals, he will only take 12 boys and 12 girls, and flatters himself that he will give satisfaction to the parents and guardians of such children as he may be favored with the charge of."

Mr. Thornhill advertises (in 1802) that "encouraged by the liberal and increasing patronage of the public" to his academy, he had taken the house and garden in Durrumtollah Street lately occupied by H. T. Travers, Esq., which from its size and situation is particularly well suited for the purpose of an academy." We believe this was the same building as that in which Mr. Drummond so long had his school, and the compound of which is now a bazar.

Mr. L. Schnabel advertises (1802) that he "will give instructions on the pianoforte, at the *moderate* rate of fifty rupees per month."

Charles Lewis Vogel set up, in 1803, a school at Chinsurah, for the education of children of both sexes, the girls being under the care of Mrs. Vogel. The terms were very moderate for those times. For general education Rs. 25 ; with clothes, medicine, &c., Rs. 35 ; for instruction in Persian 8 Rs. extra, and dancing 10 Rs. extra per month.

We find in a notice of sale in 1809, a house in *Great Durrumtollah Road*, that it was situated opposite to "Mr. Statham's Academy." This gentleman afterwards removed

his school to Howrah, where it was long the scholastic residence of many of those who afterwards rose high in the services and held important posts. Mr. Statham wrote a work called "Reminiscences of India."

Mr. Frederick Lindstedt, who had for some years previous been carrying on a seminary for boys in the Circular Road, received a partner of the name of Mr. Ord, in 1821, and the school was then carried on in their joint names.

National Institutions

The British in Calcutta early felt the necessity of those institutions, which were flourishing in their native land, and which being the offspring of benevolence, serve in a great measure to alleviate distress and relieve poverty, to check crime and improve society. Actuated by these views, Major-General Kilpatrick in August 1782 circulated a proposal for the establishment of an Orphan Society, and in the March following the Society was formed, under the name of Military Orphan Society, for the maintenance of the children of officers dying in indigent circumstances. The society had two schools, the Upper and the Lower Orphan Schools; the former contained the children of officers, the latter of soldiers. These schools were divided into two departments, for boys and girls respectively, and the education imparted was of a practical nature, designed to qualify the children for the situations they were likely to occupy in India.

The school was located first at Howrah, but about 1790, the premises at Kidderpore were taken. The front or ballroom of the spacious building, which was so long the girls' school, calls to mind the state of society in those days, when European ladies were afraid to come out to India. The school was a sort of harbour of refuge for bachelors in want of wives. Balls were given expressly for the purpose of securing matrimonial engagements for the pupils. Persons in want of wives frequently made their selection of an evening. Officers in the upper provinces sometimes travelled a distance of 500 miles to obtain a wife in this way.

From an account of the receipts and disbursements of the Upper and Lower Orphan Schools at Kidderpore, we

learn that both the institutions, which had but just been housed in buildings of their own, were, in 1795, in a very flourishing condition. The income of the "Officers' Fund," together with the previous year's balance, was Rs. 4,02,873-1-5, and the disbursements Rs. 3,32,033-6-6, which included the half of the cost of the Orphan House and premises, and also furniture, amounting to Rs. 34,303. The "Soldier's Fund" showed an income, with previous year's balance of Rs. 1,13,688-13-7, and an expenditure of Rs. 56,659-10-4.

Of the success, which attended the establishment of the Press attached to the Military Orphan Society, it is sufficient to state that on its transfer to the Government in 1863, after half a century of operations, it had contributed, under the head of "Press profits," above twelve lakhs of rupees to the income of the Society.

The upper school in 1846, and the lower somewhat later, were given up, and the few remaining children placed in other institutions.

The year 1821 saw the establishment of the European Female Orphan Asylum, an institution which reflects the highest honour on the community, by whom it was established, and on whose support it still depends. The destitute condition of the offspring of European soldiers, who if they fortunately escaped the dangers of infancy, were notwithstanding exposed to the corrupting influence of scenes of profligacy, attracted the kind and sympathizing notice of the Rev. Mr. Thomason, who appealed to the public, and his appeal was cordially responded to both by officers and soldiers, and the government bestowed a monthly donation of 200 rupees. A house and grounds in Circular Road were purchased for Rs. 37,000; and this Asylum has proved a blessing to the offspring of the European soldiery.

PUBLIC CLASS SCHOOLS

About the year 1820 people began to be painfully convinced that private schools did not answer the great purpose of national education. New views were being entertained by individuals and a new system was required—men perceived the necessity of attending to the moral and religious education of children.

The Parental Academy, through the influence and exertions of Mr. John Ricketts, was established on the 1st March 1823. The Calcutta Grammar School was established in June of the same year, owing to a dispute among the original members of the Parental Academy committee, which led to a separation of efforts. On the establishment of these schools Mr. Drummond's Academy very sensibly declined ; until it was merged in the Verulam Academy, conducted by Mr. Masters, which was in its turn given up, when Mr. M. was appointed to fill the office of the head master of La Martiniere. To the Parental Academy must be given the tribute of having raised the tone of Christian education in Calcutta, and directed attention to the importance of the study of the History of India, and of the vernaculars. This institution still continues its usefulness under the name of the Doveton College.

The Calcutta High School was founded on the 4th June, 1830 ; and under its first rector, the Rev. Mr. McQueen, it flourished. However it was eventually laid in its grave ; and on its ruins Saint Paul's School was established in the year 1847.

On the 2nd April, 1821, the Armenian community established the Armenian Philanthropic Institution for the benefit of their youth. This school existed till 1849, when it gave place to a rival school, designated St. Sanduct's Seminary.

On the 31st March, 1830, it was determined in the Supreme Court that the bequests of General Martine for the Lucknow Charity should be devoted to the erection at Lucknow of an institution to be named "La Martiniere." the ground for which had been purchased three years before.

The La Martiniere in Calcutta was founded on the 1st March, 1836, from the funds left by Major-General Claude Martine. It is both a charitable as well as public boarding school.

About the year 1834 the Roman Catholic community established St. Xavier's College for the tuition of their youth. This college flourished till the departure of the Jesuits in 1847, when St. John's College was founded in its stead.

The Free School is on the site of a house which was occupied by Mr. Justice Le Maitre, one of the judges in Impey's time. This institution was engrafted on the Old Charity School, founded in 1742, and settled in "the garden house near the Jaun Bazar, 1795." The purchase and repair of the premises cost Rs. 56,800. The public subscriptions towards the formation of the charity, amounted to Rs. 26,082, of which Earl Cornwallis gave Rs. 2000. The Free School at this period (1792,) was located in "the second house to the southward of the Mission Church."

We find, in a later part of the same year a scheme put forth for a Free School Lottery for the benefit of the institution. The number of children then in the school was :—on the foundation, males 54, females 23 ; male day scholars 53, female 11. Males put out as apprentices 38, females 11. Males educated and returned to their friends, including day scholars, 105, females 65.

Charitable Institutions

About the end of the year 1747, a charity fund was instituted for giving board and education to indigent Christian children. Besides subscriptions, it enjoyed an endowment, which grew out of the "restitution money received for pulling down the English church by the Moors at the capture of Calcutta in 1756." To this amount was subsequently added a legacy of Rs. 7000 bequeathed by Mr. Constantine ; and this sum was still further increased by the public spirit of Mr. Bouchier and the liberality of the Government. Mr. B., afterwards Governor of Bombay, was once Master-Attendant at Calcutta ; he was a merchant and most successful in his pursuits. At this period there was no particular house in which the mayor and aldermen of the city could meet for the transaction of business ; to remedy this want, Mr. Bouchier built the Old Court House, which was much enlarged by several additions in the year 1765. He gave the building to the Company, on condition that Government should pay 4000 Arcot rupees per annum to support a charity school and for other benevolent purposes. The Government consented to pay 800 rupees per mensem to these charitable purposes. And when the ruinous state of the building rendered its demo-

lition necessary, the Government continued their monthly grant as hitherto.

In the lapse of time the old charity school became quite inadequate to the demand for education ; and in consequence of the necessity for providing instruction for the offspring of the poor, the Free School Society was established on the 21st December, 1789, and its management placed in the hands of a Patron (the Governor-General), the Select Vestry and a few other governors.

On the 14th April, 1800, the Charity School and Free School Society amalgamated, and the Free School institution was the result,—a school which may be considered as the parent of all educational and benevolent institutions in this land.

The Baptist Missionaries early observed that in Calcutta, the children of many persons bearing the Christian name, were totally debarred by poverty from obtaining any proper education whatever, and were in a state of ignorance, if possible, greater than that of their Hindoo and Musulman neighbours. A piece of ground was purchased and a school house erected in the Bow Bazar. This institution was called the "Benevolent Institution." Although the primary object of the institution was the instruction of destitute Christian children, it was soon found necessary to extend its advantages to every class ; and the children of Europeans, Portuguese, Armenians, Mugs, Chinese, Hindoos, Musulmans, Indians of Sumatra, Mozambique and Abyssinia were received.

So great was the encouragement given to the institution, that a school for girls was added, and within two years after the commencement, above three hundred boys and a hundred girls were admitted to the benefits of the school. The above Institution was founded in 1819.

Fort William College

The scheme of the Calcutta College was conceived in wisdom, admirably calculated to awaken the energies of the young servants of the Company, who were to diffuse the blessings of British rule over the vast and populous provinces of Hindostan. and to imbue their minds with sound and extensive knowledge, as well in the languages of the

people they were to govern, as in the laws they were called to administer. To the accomplished statesman and gifted scholar the Marquis Wellesley was India indebted for the establishment of that college. Under no administration of our Indian affairs was so much done for the encouragement of oriental learning among the servants of the state, or for its general diffusion by the publication of valuable works, as during the rule of that great man. An assemblage of the ablest professors and teachers in every branch of instruction that was to be imparted, gave life and energy to the system.

The College of Fort William was instituted on the 18th August, 1800, and the first officers of the institution were as follows :

Rev. David Brown, Provost.

Rev. Claudius Buchanan, A. B., Vice Provost.

Professorships.

Arabic Language and Mahomedan Law, Lieutenant John Baillie.

Persian Language and Literature. { Lieutenant-Colonel William Kirkpatrick, Francis Gladwin, and Neil Benj. Edmonstone, Esq.

Hindustanee Language ... John Gilchrist, Esq.

Regulations and Laws, &c. ... Geo. Hilario Barlow, Esq.

Greek, Latin and English classics, Rev. Claudius Buchanan.

The names of Colebrooke, Gladwin, Harington, Gilchrist, Edmonstone, Baillie, Lockett, Lumsden, Hunter, Buchanan, Carey and Barlow, all of whom in various branches of tuition, discharged the duties of professors, will vouch the excellence of the instruction imparted, and the advantages enjoyed by the students in that establishment, which, notwithstanding it has ceased to exist, yet continues its beneficial influence by the many standard works of eastern literature and education which issued formerly under its patronage from the press, and by the important services rendered by those who had been trained within its walls.

Lectures commenced to be delivered at the College of Fort William on the 24th November, 1800, in the Arabic, Persian and Hindostanee languages. The Public Library

in connection with the college was also founded at the same time.

On the 6th February, 1802, the anniversary of the commencement of the first term of the College of Fort William, the distribution of prizes and honorary rewards, adjudged at the second examination of 1801, took place at the college. The Hon'ble the Acting Visitor, in the absence of the Most Noble the Patron and Founder of the College, then in a distant quarter of the British Empire in India, addressed the students on the occasion, and distributed the rewards. "The disputations" were the following :—(1) An academical institution in India is advantageous to the Indians and the British nation. (2) The Asiatics are capable of as high a degree of civilization as Europeans ; and (3) The Hindostance language is the most generally useful in India.

The Government on the 8th February, 1812, resolved that a reward of 5000 Rupees be given to such of the Company's Civil servants, as might after leaving the College of Fort William, attain a certain degree of proficiency in the Arabic and Sanscrit languages ; this offer was, however, withdrawn in a letter from the Court of Directors, dated 22nd July, 1814, and on the 36th May, 1815, in the stead of pecuniary rewards it was resolved to bestow a *Degree of Honor* on any of the civil servants, who should, after leaving the College of Fort William, attain high proficiency in either of those languages.

The college was abolished in 1828, and a saving of Rs. 1,70,000 per annum was thus effected. The young civilians were henceforth sent at once to their appointed stations, where moonshees were provided for instructing them in the Indian languages.

Mission Schools

The first school established by the clergy for the children of indigent Christians was that by the Rev. Mr. Kiernander, on the premises of the Old or Mission Church on the 1st December, 1758 ; here some children were wholly maintained, while others were only educated.

The first missionary school was founded in Dinajpore, by Dr. Carey, in 1794 ; the number of scholars in about

three years was forty. A number of schools in that district and others adjacent, were subsequently founded and maintained for twenty or thirty years. By 1817, a hundred and fifteen schools were formed by the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, the greater part of which were within thirty miles of Calcutta, and at which above ten thousand scholars were instructed.

Bishop's College was founded in 1820, by the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts at the instance of Bishop Middleton; its object was to train Indian Christians for mission work.

Through the exertions of Bishop Middleton, the boy's school connected with St. James' Church was established in the year 1823, under the auspices of the Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. The girls' school was established in 1830, under the patronage of Lady Bentinck.

The Church Missionary school was established in 1829, for the education of indigent Hindoo children.

In the Government Gazette of 27th July, 1829, we see the prospectus of a proposed "College" in Calcutta, for the education of Christian youth, and in connection with the Church of England.

The year 1821 was remarkable for the exertions of the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its vicinity. Miss Cooke, better known as Mrs. Wilson, arrived in that year and commenced her devoted labors.

The Central School, of which the foundation was laid in May 1826, was the following year completed, and Mrs. Wilson, the pioneer of female education among the Indians, took charge of it. She had before this collected about 600 scholars at the different schools in Calcutta.

In the year 1830, the General Assembly's Institution was established by Dr. Duff, for the education of Indians; and in 1837, the building which adorns the east side of Cornwallis square was finished. The success of this institution has been unprecedented. It gave a tone to native education.

In the year 1843, the great separation took place in the Church of Scotland, and Dr. Duff and his colleagues left

the premises of the General Assembly's Institution, and immediately established the Free Church Institution, in Neemtollah, which is conducted on the same principles, and has been attended with the same success as the General Assembly's Institution.

The Serampore College was founded in 1818. This institution was for the education of Asiatic Christian and other youths.

Of Mrs. Wilson's Indian Orphan School in 1837, the Hon'ble Miss Eden thus writes :—"She has collected 160 of these children ; many of them lost their parents in the famine some years ago ; many are deserted children. She showed me one little fat lump, about five years old, that was picked up at three months old, just as two dogs had begun to eat it ; the mother was starving, and had exposed it on the river side. She brings the children up as Christians, and marries them to Indian converts when they are 15 years old."

Government Colleges

By the Act of 53rd Geo. III, cap. 155, the East India Company was empowered to appropriate under certain conditions from the territorial revenue, the sum of a lakh of rupees annually "to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." It does not appear, however, that the Government was enabled to act with special reference to this permission until several years later ; nevertheless the encouragement of learning, though not systematically pursued, had not been disregarded even long before the enactment above quoted was passed. Mr. Hastings founded the Madrassa, or Mahomedan College in Calcutta in the year 1780, and in 1794 at the recommendation of Mr. Duncan, a college was endowed at Benares for the cultivation of Hindoo literature. But in the year 1811, the decay of science and literature among the natives of India, became the subject of the particular consideration of the Government, and it was then resolved to found two new Hindoo colleges in the districts of Nuddeah and Tirhoot, for the expenses of which it was

designed to allot the annual sum of 25,000 rupees. Various difficulties, however, having obstructed the execution of this intention, it was ultimately abandoned, and a different plan adopted. The Government came to the determination of forming a collegiate establishment at the Presidency.

A Hindoo College, under the designation of the Government Sanscrit College, was the outcome of this resolution. It was founded on a footing similar to that already established at Benares ; a sum of 25,000 rupees (afterwards increased to 30,000) was to be annually granted for the support of the institution, and the superintendence of it was to be vested in a committee to be named by the Government. A sum of about a lakh and twenty thousand rupees was allotted by Government for the cost of buildings and the purchase of ground. The spot chosen was in an extensive square then lately formed in a central part of the city, and the first stone of the edifice was laid on the 25th of February, 1821, with masonic honors.

The Madrissa or old Mahomedan College, for the study of the Arabic and Persian languages and of Mohamedan law, owes its origin to Mr. Hastings, who in the year 1780, provided a building at his own expense, and at whose recommendation the Government assigned lands of the estimated value of 29,000 rupees per annum for the support of the institution. The object of the founder to produce from this seminary well qualified officers for the courts of justice was never attained to the extent of his expectations.

The building occupied by the Madrissa having fallen out of repair, and being located in an unhealthy spot, it was resolved to construct a building in a more suitable situation. A sum of nearly a lakh and a-half was given for the erection of an edifice very similar in plan to that of the Sanscrit College, on a site in a quarter of the town called Colinga. The foundation stone of the new structure was laid on the 15th July 1824, with the usual ceremonies of Free Masonry.

In Calcutta Mr. Sherburn established a school, which claims for its children some distinguished men, among whom the late Babu Dwarkanath Tagore and the Hon'ble Rajah Romanath Tagore may be mentioned. It was then

evident that the Hindus had commenced shaking off their *quasi* religious prejudice against English education, and manifested an eagerness to receive its benefits, when communicated in accordance with those principles of reason, discretion and good faith, which the Government uniformly promulgated.

In the year 1815, soon after the renewal of the Company's charter, a few friends, among whom was Mr. Hare, met together in Rammohan Roy's house, and the conversation turned on the most fitting means for the destruction of superstition and the elevation of the native mind and character. Various proposals were made, but Mr. Hare went to work practically, and drew up a circular for the institution of the Hindoo College, or as it was at first called "The Mahavidyalaya" or great seat of learning. He had the cordial and able assistance of Sir Edward Hyde East, then Chief Justice. Public meetings were held, and a committee was formed to carry out the idea. On the 20th January, 1817, the school was opened in a house in Chitpore Road, hired for the purpose. Between this and 1823, the school was moved from house to house, and its supporters began to fall off. Mr. Hare alone stood firm: but even he at last saw no other means of averting the dissolution of the scheme, than an appeal to Government to come forward to the rescue. It had already been resolved to establish a Sanscrit College in 1821, and when the question of a building for the new institution came to be entertained by the Government in 1823, happily for the Hindoo College, it was agreed to locate them both under the same roof.

The Hindoo College was established as before remarked in 1821. The object of the institution, as described in the printed rules published in 1822, was to "instruct the sons of the Hindoos in the European and Asiatic languages and sciences."

Though it was proposed to teach English, Persian and Sanscrit and Bengali, yet the first place in importance was assigned to English. In truth the college was founded for the purpose of supplying the growing demand for English education. Sanscrit was discontinued at an early period. The Persian class was abolished in 1841. The only lan-

guages which have since been taught are English and Bengali.

The education of the females of India also came under consideration. In 1849 Mr. Bethune, then President of the Council of Education, founded a school for the especial instruction of the female children of natives of wealth and rank. And by means of funds bequeathed by him at his death, which occurred in 1851, and institution was erected in Cornwallis square for the purpose. The Bethune Native Female School was opened on the 7th May, 1849.

Several other minor institutions have been started, as the Oriental Seminary, the Indian Free School, the Indian Academy, Seals' Free College, the Patriotic College, and others. They were the offspring of learned and philanthropic bodies of native gentlemen, and have done much good. Some of the above have passed away, but many still exist, and others have taken the place of those institutions which have gone.

In 1855, the Hindoo College was recognised and transformed into the Presidency College, in accordance with the spirit of the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, and the decided opinion of Lord Dalhousie, who deprecated its constitution as the unseemly association of a collegiate with a dame's school. Chairs for moral and mental philosophy, logic, natural history, astronomy, natural philosophy, and geology were established. A separate department for the study of jurisprudence and law was also organised, and proved most popular. A department of civil engineering was also established on the abolition of the Civil Engineering College.

In 1857, the Calcutta University was established on the model of the University of London, and was incorporated by Act II of that year.

Education seems to have already made great progress among the natives in Calcutta, some of the richest of the Hindoo community having set up schools for the instruction of native youth in the English language. There were in February 1827, under the control of the School Society about 200 pupils attending the different schools. The minds of the most respectable members of the native com-

munity seemed to have become fully alive to the importance of intellectual improvement, and individuals of distinguished rank, affluence and attainments, readily afforded their countenance to the scheme of education.

A school was built by Lord Auckland at Barrackpore in 1837 for native children.

School Society

The Calcutta School Society was instituted on the 1st September, 1818, for the purpose of "assisting and improving existing institutions, and preparing select pupils of distinguished talents by superior instruction before becoming teachers and instructors." It established two regular or, as they were termed, "normal" schools, rather to improve by serving as models than to supersede the existing institutions of the country. They were designed to educate children of parents unable to pay for their instruction. Both the Tuntuneah and the Champatollah schools were attended with remarkable success. The former was situated in Cornwallis Street, nearly opposite the temple of Kalee, and consisted of a Bengali and English department. The latter was held in the house afterwards occupied by Babu Bhoobun Mohun Mitter's school, and which was entirely an English school. The two schools were amalgamated at the end of 1834. The amalgamated school was known as David Hare's School.

Education In The Upper Provinces

Until of late years the progress of education in upper India, under the auspices of the several local governments, had been languid and inconsiderable. It received its first great impulse, as a general system, from the hand of the late Mr. Thomson, who obtained permission to establish a government school in every tehsildaree within eight districts in Hindostan. The measure was attended with such signal success, that in 1853 the Government of India directed that the system of vernacular education should be extended to the whole of the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and in Bombay and Madras.

The Futtehghurh Orphan Asylum owes its origin to the

calamitous effects of the famine of 1837-38, when hundreds of poor children, bereft of parents and left destitute of support, were rescued from want and misery by the exertions of a generous and humane officer, and located in a separate dwelling, where they received all the nurture and attention which the most affectionate solicitude could suggest. In October, 1838, a similar institution at Futtehpore—formed simultaneously with the one at Futtehghurh, was broken up. The orphans were then divided—some were sent to the Church missionaries at Benares, and forty-eight were made over to the Rev. Mr. Wilson, who brought them on to Futtehghurh, where the number was increased to 95. With a view to render the institution a self-supporting one, the missionaries, in 1839, introduced the manufacture of carpets, such as are made at Mirzapore, and it is extremely gratifying to learn that so great was the patronage which the industrious orphans met with, that their sources in this department of their industry were “not equal to the demand.” To this they added the business of tent-making in 1844—“chiefly to secure employment and maintenance for the rising colony of married orphans.” From 1844 to the close of 1846, tents to the comparatively enormous value of Rs. 60,672 were furnished to the Indian public by the asylum.

During the latter part of the year 1856, the subject of native female education began to be practically carried out in the Agra and Muttra districts, by the establishment of several schools in those districts. And from the success which attended these efforts it was soon evident that among the more respectable of the Hindoos the objection to sending their female children to a school, presided over by a teacher of their own selection, was gradually removed.

In June 1856 fourteen schools were established in Agra, containing 207 girls. In August and September 32 more female schools were established in the Agra district. They contained 612 Hindoo and 15 Mussulman pupils, belonging to the most respectable classes of the native community. In September 53 more female schools were established in the Agra district. The attendance at these institutions was 988, of whom seven were Mussulman and the remainder

Hindoos. In October of the same year three schools were established in zillah Muttra, containing 50 pupils, 19 of whom were of the Brahmin and 28 of the Buniah caste. In the following month more schools were started ; they contained 31 Hindoo pupils. During the last quarter of 1856 three female schools were established in the Mynpoorie district. The largest of these institutions contained 32 girls, all the daughters of respectable Mahomedans. The other two were attended by Hindoo girls only. ,

CHAPTER XII

SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

Bethune Society

THE Bethune Society was established on the 11th December, 1851, to promote among the educated natives of Bengal a taste for literary and scientific pursuits, and to encourage a freer intellectual intercourse than can be accomplished by other means in the existing state of native society. The meetings of the society were held monthly during the cold season at the Theatre of the Medical College, at which discourses of literary scientific, or social subjects were delivered.

Asiatic Society of Bengal

The Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded on the 15th January, 1784, by the illustrious lawyer, linguist and naturalist, Sir William Jones. The Governor-General, Warren Hastings, having declined the offer of the chair, the founder of the society was elected its president, an office which he continued to fill for upwards of ten years. The aims of the infant society were humble enough. Weekly evening meetings were held in the grand jury room for the perusal and discussion of papers on the history, antiquities, arts, science and literature of Asia, and a selection of these papers was from time to time published as the *Asiatic Researches*. These meetings were afterwards held monthly, and then once every three months.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke was elected president in 1806, and again the society exhibited symptoms of life and youthful vigor. The Court of Directors encouraged the society by a grant of Rs. 500 per mensem; and two years later subscriptions were raised to the amount of Rs. 24,000, with which the society's present house was erected, the site having been granted by Government in 1805. It had previously been used as a manege. In 1814 the society deter-

mined on the formation of a museum "for the reception of all articles that may tend to illustrate oriental manners and history, or to elucidate the peculiarities of nature or art in the East."

In 1829, Captain Herbert commenced the publication of a monthly periodical entitled *Gleanings in Science*, chiefly intended to contain extracts from European scientific literature, with such original papers as might be forthcoming. The project was thoroughly successful. James Prinsep succeeded Captain Herbert as editor, and on the 7th March, 1832, the name of the publication was changed to that of *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and was edited by the secretary of the society. On Mr. Henry Prinsep's return to Europe in 1838, it was transferred to his successor, Mr. Henry Torrens, on whose resignation in 1843 it was adopted by the society as its own publication.

The museum had in the mean time attained such vast proportions that it was found necessary to appoint a paid curator in 1835, and a grant was obtained from Government of 200 rupees a month to its support.

In January 1841, the Government determined to found in Calcutta a "Museum of Economic Geology of India," by the aid of which it was expected important discoveries would be made relative to the mining and agricultural wealth of the country. The first specimens of coal and ores from England were placed in the society's rooms, and a curator was appointed to this department. The museum remained and grew in the society's custody for fifteen years. At length in July 1856, the Government resolved to remove it, and to establish an independent geological museum, theoretical as well as practical, in connection with the Geological Survey. At the same time the society was requested to transfer its own geological and paleontological collections to the new museum. The society refused to give up their collections, and a long correspondence ensued which ended in the whole of the papers on the subject being transmitted to the Secretary of State. The result was that in 1862, the Government declared itself prepared to carry out the project of an Imperial Museum "for the collection and exhibition of specimens of natural history in all its branches, and of other

objects of interest, physical, economical, and historical."

The transfer of the society's collections then took place.

Agricultural and Horticultural Society

The Agricultural and Horticultural Society was founded on the 14th September, 1820, by the eminent Baptist Missionary, Dr. Carey. Commencing by small degrees, it has gradually been extending its operations—and now numbers upwards of 500 members resident in various parts of the country, from the Punjab to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. Its rooms in the Metcalfe Hall contain a small museum abounding in specimens of woods, oils, dyeing and tanning substances, besides other rare productions of the country. There is also a library which, though not large, embraces many valuable works of a character most useful alike to the newcomer and the older resident, who may be in pursuit of knowledge connected with the teeming riches of the vast empire. In the large hall or meeting-room, there are busts of Dr. Carey, the founder, of Dwarkanath Tagore, and of Dr. Wallich, for many years the Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden, a vice-president, and most zealous member of the society.

Miscellaneous

The Calcutta Medical and Physical Society was instituted in March 1823. Dr. James Hare was the first president and Dr. Adam, secretary. The society's *Journal* was published for many years under the editorship of Drs. Grant, Corbyn and others.

The Bombay Literary Society, was founded by Sir James Mackintosh in 1804.

The Literary Society of Madras owed its origin to the exertions of Sir John Newbolt and Mr. B. C. Babington.

There was a "Phrenological Society" in Calcutta in 1825. It was established in March of that year, and had for its president Dr. Clarke Abel, and Dr. J. Grant as vice. The object of this society was "to investigate phrenology by means of meetings at which phrenological discussions may take place, and communications be made, and by the collec-

tion of phrenological works, skulls, casts, &c., and every kind of phrenological document and illustration."

We have accounts of a Free Masons' Lodge in Calcutta as early as 1744. In 1789 they gave at the Old Court House a ball and supper to the members of the Company's Service in Calcutta. They seem to have had a local habitation and a name in the city from the days of Charnock.

On St. John's day, 1811, the members of the Masonic Lodges of Calcutta and Fort William, accompanied by a number of other brethren not attached to any lodge at the Presidency, assembled at Moore's Rooms, whence they moved in procession to St. John's Church, preceded by the band of H. M's 24th Regiment. On their arrival at the church an excellent sermon, suited to the occasion, was preached by the Rev. Mr. Ward. This is the first notice we have seen of such a procession. It shows that the Masonic fraternity were becoming a large and influential body in Calcutta and other parts of India.

There were three Lodges of Freemasons in Calcutta, which walked in procession on St. John's Day, in 1812, to St. John's Church—the "Star in the East," "True Friendship," and the "Marine Lodge." The text chosen by the Rev. Mr. Ward was—"For we have seen the Star in the East, and have come to worship him."

From the order of procession on the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of St. Andrew, in 1815, we learn what masonic lodges then existed in Calcutta. They were (1) Lodge Courage with Humanity ; (2) Aurora Lodge ; (3) Oriental Star ; (4) Moira Lodge ; (5) Marine Lodge ; (6) Humility with Fortitude ; (7) True Friendship ; (8) Industry and Perseverance ; and (9) The Grand Lodge.

The above procession assembled at Moore's Rooms and thence walked to the site of the proposed new church of St. Andrew, near the Writer's Buildings, on the 30th November, 1815. The foundation stone of the church was laid by Mr. A. Leton.

The Masonic Lodges in Calcutta in 1819 were—(1) Courage with Humanity ; (2) Aurora Lodge ; (3) Moira Lodge ; (4) Marine Lodge ; (5) Humility with Fortitude ;

(6) True Friendship ; (7) Industry and Perseverance ; (8) Star in the East ; and (9) Provincial Grand Lodge.

A proposal for the establishment of the Calcutta Bethel Union Society was made in September 1823. The object of the society was the benefit of seafaring men visiting the port of Calcutta. A pinnacle was purchased and fitted up for divine service on Sabbaths.

The building of a Public "Exchange" was proposed in 1784 for the town of Calcutta by Mr. Watts, in the following advertisement :—"Merchants and gentlemen of Bengal, who may be inclined to encourage so useful a plan as the building a public edifice of Exchange, in the Town of Calcutta, are requested to honour Mr. Watts with their names and opinion. A plan and elevation of the structure intended, may be seen at the Agency Office.

"N. B.—Mr. Watts professes Independence by Labour. He has no connection whatever with other persons or other plans (if any there be) of a similar kind ; and as he has not been honoured with any communications, gentlemen cannot complain of infidelity. Subscriptions are optional. If the present should not fill, the building will still be erected. Its necessity in these times is evident, and the utility in a commercial town speaks for itself."

Another proposal was made in May 1817, by the merchants in Calcutta, to build a Public Exchange "such as other commercial cities are provided with, and which the progressive enlargement of the trade of this port seems to render daily more requisite. And an application was made to Government for permission to erect the building "upon the vacant spot of ground between the Honorable Company's present Bankshall and the river, as that situation would afford a combination of advantages not to be found elsewhere."

Government readily acceded to the request.

In January 1814, was established at Madras "the Highland Society of Madras," a branch of the Highland Society at home. The objects of the society are thus stated—(1) The restoration of the Highland dress ; (2) The preservation of the ancient music of the Highlands ; (3) The promoting of the cultivation of the Celtic language ; (4) The

rescuing from oblivion the valuable remains of Celtic Literature ; (5) The establishment of public institutions, as Gaelic schools, a Caledonian Asylum for the children of Highland soldiers, and a Gaelic chapel in London ; (7) The keeping up the martial spirit, and rewarding the gallant achievements of Highland corps ; (8) The promoting agricultural improvement and the general welfare of the northern parts of the kingdom.

A correspondent of the Government Gazette of the 15th April, 1819, says—"Calcutta is likely to be more distinguished for its clubs than its masonic institutions. The *Tea* club is expected to suit the public taste to a Tea. Several supplementary regulations have been adopted, and among them the most judicious is, that 'The member who slops the table, or spilleth the hot beverage in his neighbour's lap, shall forfeit two annas.' Another club has started, under the mysterious denomination of *Obscure*, and as the *Lunatics* meet at the full of the moon, it is probable that the *Obscures* will meet at the *change*, contended to remain in a sort of eclipse."

CHAPTER XIII

DUELLING

DUELS must, from their very nature, have been the oldest species of combats, and it is a mistake to suppose that they were not known to the ancients ; for we find in Plutarch that on one occasion, during the Indian expedition, Hephæstion and Craterus drew their swords on each other and fought, till separated by Alexander himself ; but as a practice, sanctioned by law and custom, duelling can be traced no farther back than the judicial combats of the Germans. These combats were, however, only a species of ordeal, as it was supposed that God, being the Ruler of the Universe, would take the innocent under his especial protection, and bring the cause of truth to light. These appeals to the judgment of God were conducted according to very positive rules which were most strictly enforced. From Germany the practice spread rapidly all over Europe. Soon after the invention of fire-arms, pistols became a favorite weapon for deciding private quarrels, till the Emperor Maximilian put a stop to the practice, by directing that such arms were to be employed only against the enemy.

Duelling seems to have been so common in Calcutta that persons in the highest ranks of society were not free from it. Major Browne had the boldness to challenge Sir John Macpherson to fight. Sir John was then Governor-General of India. The duel was fought. The cause of the quarrel may be gleaned partially from a despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 28th March, 1788 :—"Having read and deliberately considered a publication which appeared in the newspapers entitled 'Narrative relative to the duel between Sir John Macpherson and Major James Browne,' &c., we came to the following resolution, viz., that the apology required from Sir John Macpherson by Major Browne shows that the offence taken by Major Browne arose from an act of Sir John Macpherson in his station of Governor-General of Bengal, and not in his private capacity, the

apology stating that the paragraph which gave the offence appeared in the Calcutta Gazette, by the authority of the Government, at the head of which he (Sir John) then was as Governor-General of Bengal. That the calling upon any person acting in the character of the Governor-General of Bengal, or Governor of either of the Company's other presidencies, or as a Councillor, or in any other station, in respect of an official act, in the way Sir John Macpherson has been called upon, is highly improper, tends to a subversion of due subordination, may be highly injurious to the Company's service, and ought not to be suffered ; more especially as this Court is ready at all times to hear the complaints, and give redress to any of their servants, who either wilfully, or by mistake, may have been injured by their superiors."

The mess-table, unfortunately, afforded too frequent occasions for the exchange of shots, and brother officers have thence risen to avenge some fancied insult, under unnatural excitement, by calling out their former friends ; and although the shots may, in many instances, fall harmless, yet they too frequently prove, if not fatal, greatly injurious to the sufferer's future health, happiness, and prospects in life.

Another source of frequent duels was the betting system carried to so great an extent amongst the officers in the Indian army, as well as civilians holding distinguished appointments, that no one could have resided long in India without being aware of the extravagant pitch to which this species of gambling was formerly carried. Thousands of rupees exchanged hands on the most trivial occasions, for instance, the turn-up of a card ; the number of natives, male or female, who shall pass the window in a given time : in fact, on the most frivolous matters. It was to be deplored that more rational sources of amusement, during the long sultry day of an Indian climate, could not have been found, to prevent the encouragement of gambling to so frightful an extent.

Much may be said in extenuation of this baneful way of "killing time," when the want of society in India, especially that of females—the best and natural check upon

such unintellectual indulgences—is taken into consideration. At many stations, the officers of the regiment were the only Europeans to be met with, and the want of society at such places, caused time not only, in fact, to drag heavily, but it was so much felt, that many fell into the grosser habits of drinking, in order to create excitement for a time, which, once commenced, required to be continued, and thus too often brought many a brave fellow, who in more active service would have been an honour to his country and friends, to an untimely grave, perhaps, by the hand of the duellist, the sad result of an intemperate brawl.

Whatever may have been a soldier's ideas of duelling and howmuchsoever he may have abhorred the practice, yet it was considered better for him at once to quit the service than refuse a challenge. A man who would not go out was scouted not only at the mess-table, and by the officers of his own corps ; but posted as a coward throughout the service—a consequence few men were prepared to encounter. If an officer was ever so cautious, he could hardly pass through the service, especially during his early career, without being subjected to a challenge, grounded on some supposed insult or other, and which, being accepted, too often terminated fatally to one party, and left the survivor to spend the remainder of his days with the consciousness of having sent a fellow creature prematurely to his grave. Some even gloried in having "killed their man," and thus adding a degree of terror to their names, and being considered men of tried courage, have been falsely flattered, by such a distinction, rather to court than shun cause for challenge. But, on the other hand, many there were who, had it been possible, would gladly have recalled the unfortunate events.

The result was the gallant major, who had fought the enemies of his country on the plains of Waterloo, fell mortally wounded. In the morning a report was circulated through the cantonment that Major T——was no more. The general understanding amongst the troops was that he had fallen a victim to that ready apology for all sudden deaths,—the cholera. The fact was, however, well known to all the officers of his regiment.

The remains of the major were consigned to the grave with the usual military honours, without further investigation, though not without the sincere regrets of his brother officials for his untimely end.

The following is a circumstantial account of an "affair of honor," which is only one of hundreds of a similar kind, which were of such frequent occurrence in all parts of India :—

"The—regiment of Foot was quartered at Vellore, when the tragical occurrence took place which deprived poor Captain Bull of his existence. He was yet only in his early manhood, beloved by all who knew him, and much respected in the Hussar regiment, which he quitted in exchange for a company in the—regiment in India, which he had joined only a few months.

At Vellore, he found a set of officers, chiefly Irish, and by no means favorable specimens of that country, either in its virtues or its failings. He felt, therefore, as well natural, little or no inclination to associate with them farther than military duty required.

The mess of the regiment was convivial and expensive ; and Captain Bull having been affianced to a young lady who was coming to India, had the strongest and most laudable motives for living economically. He therefore intimated, but in terms of politeness, his disinclination to join the mess, stating his expectation of being shortly married, and the consequent increase of expense which he was so soon to incur. But the majority of the mess, the Irish part of it in particular, with the confusion of head incident to those who are resolved to quarrel, interpreted his refusal into a personal affront.

It was then unanimously agreed amongst nine officers present that they should draw lots which of them was to call Captain Bull out. The lot fell upon a Lieutenant Sandys, who in the name of himself and his brother officers, sent the challenge, which Bull had too much spirit to decline, though determined, as he told his second, not to fire, having no personal injury to redress. They went out, Sandys fired, and Captain Bull fell.

The systematic cowardice of the plot, and the untimely

fate of so excellent a young man, strongly agitated the feelings of all. Sandys and Yeaman, and Lieutenant in the same regiment, his second, were brought down to the Presidency, and tried at the ensuing sessions for wilful murder. The grass-cutters and the horse-keepers, who had observed them going out together and returning, and a water-bearer, who had actually seen the duel, were somewhat at a loss to identify Sandys and Yeamen, and the prisoners had, moreover, the advantage of a jury of Madras shopkeepers, who, serving the different regiments with stores, had, on former occasions, acquitted officers under similar charges, and aggravated as the present case was, probably felt a like indisposition to convict. There were acquitted, therefore, but against the strong and pointed directions of the Judge, Sir Henry Gwillim, who told the jury, that it would be trifling with his own oath not to tell them that it was a case of foul and deliberate murder. They deliberated, or pretended to deliberate, for half-an-hour; and during this time the Judge, who could not imagine that any other verdict could be brought in than that of "Guilty," had already laid his black cap upon his notebook, prepared to pass the sentence of the law upon them, and which, as he told the prisoners, it was his intention to have carried into effect. "You have had," said he, addressing them with great solemnity, "a narrow escape, and too merciful a Jury. If they can, let them reconcile their verdict to God and their consciences. For my part, I assure you, had the verdict been what the facts of the case so fully warranted, that in 24 hours you should both of you have been cold unconscious corpses—as cold and unconscious as that of the poor young man whom, by wicked conspiracy and a wicked deed, you drove out of existence. Be gone, repent of your sins. You are men of blood, and that blood cries up to Heaven against you." Sandys and Yeaman were afterwards tried by a court martial, found guilty of the conspiracy against the life of Captain Bull. The sentence was confirmed by the King, with an additional clause, declaring them "incapable for ever of again serving His Majesty."

Duels had been so common, during the previous two

years, some resulting fatally, that we suppose the authorities had determined to make an example of the next party who sent a challenge; this we infer from Mr. Cuthbert Fenwick having been found guilty of a misdemeanor (at the sessions of 1791) for sending a challenge to William Lakins, Esq.; he was fined 2000 rupees, sentenced to one month's imprisonment, and to give security for his good behavior for two years; himself in a sum of 10,000 rupees, and two securities each of 5,000 rupees.

At the sessions in the Bombay Court on the 26th May, 1804, a principal and his second in a duel were put on their trial for murder. The particulars of the case are not reported, nor the names of the parties given. After a long and patient investigation the jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*. We are here informed that the law had been exerted in putting down the practice of duelling, but without effect.

That duelling was contrary to the military code of laws, may be ascertained by a perusal of the Articles of War made by His Majesty for the better government of the Forces; the 2nd and 5th articles of the 7th section of which, for the year 1827, state as follows:—

"Art. 2. No officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, shall presume to give or send a challenge to any other officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, as fight a duel, upon pain, if a commissioned officer of being cashiered; if a non-commissioned officer or soldier, of suffering corporal punishment or imprisonment, at the discretion of a court martial."

"Art. 5. Whatsoever officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, shall upbraid another for refusing a challenge, shall himself be punished as challenger, and we hereby acquit and discharge all officers and soldiers of any disgrace or opinion of disadvantage which might arise from their having refused to accept of challenges, as they will only have acted in obedience to our orders, and done their duty as good soldiers, who subject themselves to discipline."

This did not have the effect of reducing the number of duels, and both the military and naval records shows

numerous instances in which valuable lives were sacrificed to the false idea of honor.

The history of the change in public opinion and the usages of the army and navy, which has taken place since 1840, is not generally known; and is worth noting. Some fatal duels in England made one or two Christian men resolve to try and stem the evil. Many of the best officers in the services considered it hopeless and impracticable. There would be no protection for man's honor, &c.

At a private meeting held on the 31st May, 1841, the following resolution was adopted, on the motion of Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart. M. P. :—"We, the undersigned, hereby form ourselves into an association for the purpose of considering the best means of preventing, under the blessing of Almighty God, the crime of duelling. And we request Captain Henry Hope and Mr. William Dugmore to summon us together whenever it may appear to be desirable for the above object."

On the 12th February, 1842, at a general meeting held at the "British Hotel," Cockspur Street, London, Rear-Admiral Hawkes in the chair, a large number of noblemen, officers and civilians formed themselves into an "Association for the Discouragement of Duelling."

In August, 1843, this society presented a memorial to Her Majesty, pointing out and deploring "the evils arising from duelling, and praying that Her Majesty would be pleased to take the subject into her gracious consideration, with a view to the adoption of means to secure its suppression." Three hundred and sixty gentlemen joined in this memorial. It was most graciously received and within a twelve month, the Articles of War were formally amended prescribing a simple and reasonable course for the adjustment of differences, and acquitting of "disgrace or opinion of disadvantage all officers, who being willing to make or accept such redress, refuse to accept challenges, as they will only have acted as is suitable to the character of honorable men, and have done their duty as good soldiers who subject themselves to discipline." Any officer sending, accepting or conveying a challenge was made liable to be cashiered; and seconds in a duel to be punished proportionately.

Similar orders were issued to the navy. And the "Association for the Discouragement of Duelling" in their fourth report (1850) stated that the Amended Articles of War had been firmly administered by the authorities, "in the few instances which afterwards occurred of officers acting in violation of them." The change thus effected in the services has been so complete, that the practice of duelling is now nearly forgotten, but those who have passed their lives in the army can look back at it with wonder and thankfulness.

CHAPTER XIV

SUTTEE

IN reference to the antiquity of the ceremony of suttee it may be observed that Diodorus Siculus, in his Narrative of the Expedition of Alexander the Great into India, gives the fullest and most interesting account of the nature and origin of the custom, that is to be found in any ancient author.

He says—"This institution took its rise amongst the Rajpoots from the crime of one wife who destroyed her husband by poison." He then gives a full relation of the ceremony, which he characterises as an "unheard-of crime, and abhorrent from Grecian laws and customs."

After describing the contest which took place between the two wives of Ceteus, the leader of the Indian troops, for the privilege of burning on the funeral pile, and which was decided in favor of the younger of the two, he thus proceeds—"She who had lost her cause departed weeping, rending the veil which covered her head, and tearing her hair, as if some great calamity had been communicated to her. The other rejoicing at her success proceeded to the funeral pile, crowned by the females of her household with mitres. She was decked with other ornaments, as if for a nuptial festival, and was attended by her relations, chanting a song in praise of her virtue. As soon as she reached the pile, she took the ornaments from her person, and distributed them amongst her attendants and friends, as memorials, one would say, of her affection. The ornaments consisted of a multitude of rings upon her fingers, set with precious stones of various colours. Upon her head was no small number of stars of gold, discriminated by means of stones of all kinds. About her neck were many gems, some small, and the rest gradually increasing to a larger size. At length, having embraced her family, she was placed upon the pile by her brother, and, to the great astonishment of the people who assembled to witness the ceremony, she terminated

thus heroically her life. Before the pile was lighted, the whole army, in military array, marched three times round it. The widow, bending towards her husband's body, uttered no pusillanimous cry when the flames began to roar, which excited towards her the pity of some of the spectators, whilst others extolled her resolution. There were not wanting, however, individuals amongst the Greeks who condemned this custom as cruel and inhuman."

The date of this occurrence is the first year of the 106th Olympiad, or B. C. 314. We have therefore in this instance, demonstrative evidence of the prevalence and even antiquity of the suttee ceremony in India more than 3000 years ago.

"Relationship with a suttee," says Dr. Gilchrist, "gave a certain rank in India in the estimation of the natives. The son of a woman who had performed suttee ranked as a knight; if he could boast that his sister had also burned herself, he would be considered as a baronet; if he had other relations who had also sacrificed themselves, he would rank as a baron, and so on up even to the dignity of a king, according to the number of females of his family who had performed suttee."

No wonder then that the male members, of the family were so interested in the self-immolation of their females.

We may remark, by the way, that suttee is merely the ordinary way of spelling *sati*, "a good wife," from the root *sat*. It is quite correct, therefore, to say that such a one "performed the rite of suttee," or "became a suttee"—i.e., a model partner.

"A case of suttee is described by Fanny Parks as being witnessed at Allahabad in 1822, a short time before Lord William Bentinck's prohibition of suttee.

A corn chandler having lied, his widow declared her intention of being burnt with him, though the magistrate offered her a considerable sum of money to relinquish her design. In reply she threatened to hang herself in his kut-cherry, if he attempted to interfere with her, affecting to believe that she had been burned six times with her husband, and that the forthcoming would be her seventh time of cremation. As no food or water may be taken, between

the death of a husband and the self-sacrifice of his widow, the magistrate deferred the ceremony for two days ; but all in vain.

The pile was therefore built up ; the body duly placed ; and guards stationed to keep back the crowd, which was estimated at five thousand people. The widow, clad in a red robe, bathed in the Ganges, and with a burning brand in her hand, walked, with a cheerful countenance, round the pyre, applied the torch, and calmly ascended. Laying her husband's head upon her lap, she rapidly repeated the formula "Ram, Ram, Sati," until the wind blew the flames upon her, when she sprang to her feet, and approached the side as if to jump off.

A Hindoo policeman with raised sword drove her back, and was instantly arrested by the magistrate. The widow then leaped out and ran into the river, her arms and legs being alone slightly scorched. Her brothers-in-law and the mob thereupon yelled and hooted at her, crying aloud "Cut her down ! Knock her on the head with a bamboo ! Tie her hands and feet, and throw her in again !

The European gentlemen, however, who were present, aided by the police, drove back the clamorous wretches, and protected the unhappy woman. Having slaked her thirst, she now offered to mount the pile a second time ; but the magistrate laid his hand upon her shoulder and by his touch rendered her impure. Hindoo law of itself forbade a second attempt."

In a long debate at the India House on the 28th March, 1827, on Mr. Poynder's resolution regarding the burning of Hindoo widows, the following most revolting and brutal instance is given where a widow was burnt against her will : —

"One Seethoo, a brahmin, died when absent from his family. A fortnight afterwards his widow, Hoomuleea, a girl of about fourteen years of age, proceeded to burn herself, the pile being prepared by her nearest relations, then at the village she resided in. Her father, Puttna Tewary, was in another part of the country, and does not appear to have been made acquainted with what was passing. Whether the sacrifice was originally a voluntary one has not been ascertained ; it must be presumed it was so.

“The preparatory rites completed, Hoomuleea ascended the pile, which was fired by her uncle, the prisoner Sheolol. The agony was soon beyond endurance, and she leaped from the flame; but seized by Sheolol, Bichhook, and others, she was taken up by the hands and feet, and again thrown upon it; much burnt, and her clothes quite consumed, she again sprang from the pile, and running to a well hard by, laid herself down in the water-course, weeping bitterly. Sheolol now took a sheet, offered for the occasion by Roosa, and spreading it on the ground, desired her to seat herself upon it. ‘No,’ she said, she would not submit to this: she would quit the family and live by beggary; any thing, if they would but have mercy upon her.—Sheolol upon this, swore by the Ganges that if she would seat herself on the cloth he would carry her to her home. She did so;—they bound her up in it, sent for a bamboo, which was passed through the loops formed by tying it together, and carrying it thus to the pile, now fiercely burning, threw it bodily into the flames. The cloth was immediately consumed, and the wretched victim once more made an effort to save herself, when at the instigation of the rest, the moosulman Buraichee, approached near enough to reach her with his sword, and cutting her through the head, she fell back, and was released from further trial by death.”

We could multiply instances of both voluntary and involuntary sacrifices of widows, but that we feel is unnecessary. Even in the very vicinity of the metropolis scenes of this kind were enacted. At Cossipore, Chitpore and other places up to 1828 suttees were usual.

No one thought of taking up the matter in earnest until the administration of Lord Wellesley.

This nobleman, who had passed a law forbidding mothers to fling their offspring into the Ganges at Saugor Island, next turned his attention to the parents themselves. By his directions a letter was written to the Sudder or Highest Court of Appeal under the Company's system, directing enquiries, and suggesting that the custom might be abolished. This was early in 1805. The Court replied at the end of the year, but by that time Lord Wellesley had

left the country, and nothing was done during the second brief administration of Lord Cornwallis, or the seven years of Lord Minto, who was occupied with the Dutch, the conquest of Java, and other matters.

At length about the year 1812-13, the Court and the Government woke up from their slumber, and set about doing something with that earnestness which, be the motives or objects right or wrong, Indian officials never fail to exhibit. It soon became evident that two straightforward and simple courses were open.

We might interfere with a strong hand and treat suttee as we had treated other horrid crimes and customs. Or we might simply let the rite alone, like the Churruck Pooja, and the practice of taking old men and women to the banks of the Ganges, and there allowing them to perish with cold and damp, and other venerated customs ; trusting that the influence of civilizing agencies would render it unfashionable for a widow to burn. Neither course wanted advocates. Neither perhaps, was entirely free from difficulty. But either one or the other must have proved less pernicious and discreditable than the middle course which was adopted. No law was passed, nor was a total abstinence thought advisable. The practice was to be inspected, regulated, controlled, and reported on ; and so, in the year 1813 a code of minute instructions was circulated by order of Government, the results of which, for nearly fifteen years, were such as it probably never entered into the heads of the originators to conceive.

These rules were tinkered subsequently, but their general purport was as follows.

Police officers were told to obtain the earliest information of an intended suttee : to repair to the spot ; to ascertain if the sacrifice were voluntary ; to prevent it if procured by force or by means of drugs or intoxication, or in the case of pregnancy ; and of course to furnish an elaborate report, with particulars of caste, occupation, residence, number of children, and so forth. Then widows who had young children were not to burn, unless some relative came forward to support the orphans, which by the way Hindoos are never slack to do. Magistrates were allowed to use all

the arts of rhetoric or persuasion to save the widow, even when the sacrifice was, as it is gravely termed, "legal," and relatives were to be fined for failure to notify the occurrence.

In fact, the executive hierarchy of the British Government was placed in a situation analogous to that of referees, who should be sent down by the Home Office to preside over a prize-fight, or of Roman proconsuls regulating a combat of gladiators.

From this time returns of suttees figure prominently in the annual reports. No details are forthcoming for the year 1814.

But in 1815, within six divisions of commissionerships, 378 widows were "returned" as burnt. For the next few years the schedules grew in size, and we find the totals variously, in 1816, 442; in 1817, 707; in 1818, 839; in 1819, 650; in 1820, 597; in 1821, 654; in 1822, 513; and in 1823, 575, making a gross total in nine years of 5425 individuals who had thus perished; and taking into the account those who had been burned at Madras and Bombay, the number would be over 6000.

In short two women on an average calculation were said to be destroyed in that manner every day in the year. The children of various ages who were left in an orphan and destitute state, in consequence of these sacrifices, in Bengal alone, amounted in the above nine years to 5128. Speaking roundly, more than 500 women were allowed to immolate themselves every year between 1814 and 1829, and the British Government *patronized the show*. During the greater part of this time, a paper controversy blazed as fiercely as these funeral flames.

With reference to the question of suttees which eventually were put down by the strong hand of the law, opinions were at this time (1827) strangely divided as to the advisability of using authoritative means for its suppression.

In many instances persuasion had had the effect of preventing self-immolation, but frequently the act was entirely voluntary on the part of the widow. The classes, to which the husbands of the suttees, belonged, were various, comprehending all degrees, from the zemindar and

pundit to the beggar, and including also native government officers ; as well as persons of all circumstances from those in possession of ample means of subsistence to individuals "in very miserable circumstances ;" the greater part indeed were in humble condition.

The Government of India refused to interfere by any legal enactments, and the rite continued.

The Rajah of Tanjore, to his honor be it said, endeavored in every way to put down the practice. He denounced it as "a barbarous and inhuman rite" ; he interdicted his own wife in the most solemn manner sacrificing herself on his funeral pile, and said he would discourage the practice wherever his influence could have any weight ; and several devoted victims were through his means rescued from a cruel death, and were supported by his bounty.

Captain Robertson, the collector of Poonah, in his district had the funeral pile constructed on the "most orthodox style," that is, according to the shastras.

This style was as follows :—"Above was a light covering of dry twigs supported by four forked posts firmly fixed in the ground ; the ground below was covered with wood and cowdung, leaving a space of about five feet to the top ; on three sides the pile was surrounded with grass and straw, and the fourth was left entirely open," so that the woman could escape if so minded. She was also to be left free of action, and not bound down by bamboos and ropes to the corpse as was the usual custom. But even these means were rendered useless in many instances through the determination and self-devotion of the victim—or shall we rather say, through the infatuation and the drugs administered to the unfortunate creature, which took away her senses.

We will not here give any of the harrowing instances of suttee which were published in so many of the papers before us. It was the opinion of the Court of Directors, that they should "wait till the slow influence of education and more correct habits of thinking, which cannot be denied to be now gaining ground in India, extinguishes a the custom."

All this time, too, while the Government fiddled and widows burnt, a quiet intimation from one of the Judges

of the old Supreme Court, to the effect that he would simply treat suttee as murder, had completely prevented the practice in the limited tract bordered by the river Hooghly and the Mahratta ditch. Widows might be reduced to ashes on one side of Circular Road, but not on the other ; at Garden Reach, but not at Chandpal Ghaut ; at Howrah, but not on the Esplanade.

But at last came the hour and the man.

Lord William Bentinck had not been eighteen months in the country, when he put an end to suttee by an Act made up of a dignified preamble and few short sections. There was neither riot nor disaffection. No sepoy shot at his colonel ; nowhere were magistrates or missionaries mobbed, treasuries plundered, or bungalows fired. There was some vapouring on the part of the Bengalees, and there was an attempt to get at the ear of the Privy Council which ended as one might have expected. The good example set then has been followed by the tributary princes of India, moved by the influence of Residents and Agents. Suttee is now rarely heard of in any part of the great peninsula.

CHAPTER XV

THUGGISM

It may be interesting to notice a class of murderers which used to infest almost every province in the Upper and Central Provinces, till the strong hand of the British Government put them down effectually. We allude to the Thugs, a secret society whose practice was to surprise travellers and strangle them for the purpose of robbery. They were accustomed to accompany travellers on long journeys for many days, and even weeks; they ate and slept with their unsuspecting victims, and took part with them in their religious duties at their respective sacred places along the road, and lived with them on the most friendly footing, till a favorable opportunity offered for the execution of their murderous deeds. This far-extended organisation of crime was founded and propagated on a religious basis and Kallee was the goddess whom they worshipped.

Colonel Sleeman, with great exertions, undertook the pursuit and extirpation of this society of Thugs. His efforts were successful, and they were followed up by several officers afterwards, until two thousand Thugs were called to account in five years—at Indore, Hyderabad, Saugor and Jubulpore.

From 1831 to 1837 there were :—Transported to Penang, &c., 1059, hanged 412, imprisoned for life or for shorter periods 1239, released after trial 32, escaped from goal 11, made approvers 483. And it was suspected there were upwards of 1800 notorious Thugs still at large in 1838, but their names were known, and they dared not practice their trade. Thus the villanous band may be said to have been extirpated.

Thuggism sprang up in India, under the first Mahomedan conquerors.

The Thugs are distinctly ascertained to have existed in great numbers in the reign of Akbar the Great; no less than 500 having been executed, in the Etawah province, by that emperor; and they are known to have been, for cen-

turies, exercising their fearful avocations in every part of India, from the Sutlej to Cape Comorin.

During the early part of the British dominion in the Doab, the ravages of the Thugs appear to have increased to such an intolerable degree that in 1812 or 1813, the Government deputed Mr. N. J. Halhed to attack their head quarters, in the pergunnah of Sindoure, which being situated on the right bank of the Jumna, opposite to Etawah, and consisting entirely of ravines and inaccessible fastnesses, formed a suitable and, until then, a safe retreat to the gangs, to deposit and dispose of the plunder acquired during their extensive excursions.

The extent to which they carried on their depredations may be judged by the fact that one of their number, Syud Ameer Alee, was present at 150 cases of murder, wherein 719 people were killed and robbed of 67,000 rupees, in hard cash, and property estimated at upwards of 1,50,000 rupees.

Mr. Halhed carried fire and sword into this small pergunnah, and entirely drove away its predatory inhabitants, who were, in consequence, dispersed in every direction, those who escaped the sword or the gallows, took refuge in the Bundelcund States of Jhansee, Duttea, Tehree, and Jaloun, and in the neighbouring provinces of Scindia.

The Nepal, the Pindaree, and the Mahratta wars of 1814-15, 16 and 17, ensued immediately after the dispersion of the Thugs, and these formidable gangs, the more formidable from the secrecy of their acts, and the general ignorance almost of their existence, by the public at large, gradually recovered strength, till in the end of 1817, they were founded in Malwa in as large numbers, and as daring in their acts as before. The general peace, which followed the termination of the Mahratta war, opened the road to commerce all over the Peninsula; and the monopoly of opium, at that period, established, in the province of Malwa, by the British Government, still further invigorated the drooping commerce of Central India.

The state of Central India and Rajpootana, during the existence of the Pindaree power, was singularly favorable to the growth of free-booters.

Travellers were compelled to go in large bodies for the sake of protection, and the Thugs could, under the same pretence, assemble in numerous gangs, without suspicion falling on them. At the termination of the Pindaree war, and subsequently, the fear of the Thugs led to the same results; and travellers, from ignorance, and by the wiles of the Thugs, repeatedly joined gangs, under the firm belief that their safety was thereby ensured: they thus, of their own accord, fell into the jaws of the destroyer when they considered themselves most safe from harm.

The monopoly of opium, and the annually increasing flourishing condition of Malwa, occasioned an export which required returns to repay it, far exceeding the natural limited wants of the province. The imports, therefore, were by no means adequate to pay for the produce exported to other countries. The monied traders were, by these circumstances, induced to make remittances from the Bombay presidency in jewels, dollars, gold mohurs, which were generally sent under charge of Rokerias, or treasure carriers, who, by various disguises, attempted to escape the lynx eyes of the vigilant and watchful Thugs, but often they allowed their secret calling to transpire, and the result infallibly ended in the death of the carriers, and robbery of the treasures.

The loss sustained to the commence of the country, by these murders and robberies, which befell the bankers and monied interest of Bombay, the Deccan, and of Central in India, through the instrumentality of these free-booters was incalculable.

By the pacification of India, the armies of the Madras and Bombay governments were brought in contact with the frontiers of the Bengal Presidency; and numerous recruits were obtained from the Gangetic provinces to their armies. The men of those provinces are notoriously much more attached to their homes than their brethren of the sister presidencies; and the roads being no longer shut by open and avowed enemies, large numbers every year took furlough, and returned towards Hindostan, with their small savings about their persons. These sepoy the Thugs al-

ways marked as their own ; and next to the treasure carriers, the murder and robbery of these faithful servants of Government was their favorite occupation : trained to danger, and confident in their own strength and courage, they were easily misled by the wily and submissive conduct of the Thug leaders.

From 1820 large gangs of Thugs infested every part of Central India ; and the valley of the Nerbudda did not obtain a respite from their ravages until the arrest of one gang, in 1820, and another in 1823, turned the attention of the British authorities to the necessity of taking measures for the protection of their subjects from these murderers.

From that time, however, till the end of 1829, the only modes adopted to check their audacity, were of a local and precautionary nature ; but about this time, and the commencement of 1830, events took place, which attracted the most serious attention and notice of the Government.

It was found that the temporizing and precautionary method must be abandoned, and active measures adopted in their stead for the suppression of the gangs. Officers were therefore appointed to carry out the energetic measures of the Government.

Among these were Colonel Sleeman, who was stationed at Saugor, a central spot, from which he could watch, follow up, and arrest the gangs on their departure from, or return to, their homes, in Bundelcund.

From that period the arrest of Thugs was prosecuted with the greatest vigor and success, and a blow was struck which appears to have at length completely ruined the confederacy.

There was a peculiarity in the operations of one class of these Thugs, which deserves to be mentioned. In the Nizam's country not far from Beejapore, women were generally employed to lure the traveller to his destruction. A pretty-looking girl of their tribe was selected and placed near some retired road, where on the approach of an object of prey, she had a pretty story ready to explain the cause of her having been left alone in the jungles.

"The unfortunate listener feels interested, and falls into the snare laid for him—the girl induces him to ac-

company her to a favorable spot, where she manages to fasten the fatal noose, her companions being always near enough to afford timely aid. The traveller if mounted will perhaps offer to take the girl up on his horse, to assist her in overtaking the party she says she has lost ; but before he has advanced many paces, the murderess casts the snare round his neck, and, throwing herself from the horse, drags her protector to the ground, where he is speedily despatched by the ever-ready accomplices."

CHAPTER XVI

ART IN INDIA

It appears somewhat strange, that with all the means and appliances at the command of the British in the East and also of the great mass of the intelligent natives with whom they are associated, so little should have emanated from the latter of a character to exhibit their intellectual powers to advantage ; little in fact to show that art, and sciences and manufactures have progressed with them in any manner corresponding with their advance in the Western world. Books have been written concerning the country and its history ; travellers have related their journeys ; and soldiers have described their campaigns ; but the contributions to that kind of literature which is calculated to benefit the whole human family, have been few and far between. Art seems to wither amid the arid plains of Hindostan, and science has scarcely found a resting place for her foot on the shores of the Ganges or the temples of Buddha.

With the exception of Vigne's faithful representations of Cabool and Punjab scenery, Daniel's extravagant Eastern beauties, Schefft's views of Lucknow and other native courts, Fergusson's and Kittoe's Indian architecture, and the productions of a few minor painters, the generality of the artists who have figured among the Calcutta or Mofussil community, have confirmed themselves almost wholly to portrait-painting, finding that more lucrative than subjects of a more laborious and lofty description.

We have none moving in the aristocratic ranks who will take the hand of an oriental artist, and enable him to dispose of to advantage those productions on which he may have spent years of labor and mental exertion. Were the patronage of those moving in the upper circles extended to artists of merit, both European and native, it would soon be perceived that India possesses no lack of talent, among those who are now simply

portrait painters,—it would be soon found that as beautiful specimens of Indian scenery could be transferred to canvas as any which England and the continent have produced.

Portrait painting was costly in the past century in Calcutta. This may be inferred from the following advertisement :—“PORTRAIT PAINTING.—Mr. Morris having taken a house in Wheler Place, directly behind the Governor’s house, begs leave to inform such ladies and gentlemen who may be inclined to favor him with their sittings, that he is ready to paint them at the following prices :—

A head size,	...	...	15 gold mohurs.
Three quarters,	...	...	20 do.
Kit cat,	...	...	25 do.
Half length,	...	...	40 do.
Whole length	...	...	80 do.

Calcutta, 5th April, 1798.”

The extravagant prices that were in 1794 charged by engravers for the production of their work, may be judged from the circumstance that a gentleman of the name of Baillie advertises nine “Views of Calcutta, 15 by 11 inches in size, printed from copper plates,” at twenty-five rupees each view, or eighty rupees for a set of nine views !

Thos. Daniell, the well known delineater of India, advertises in 1795, his “Proposals for publishing twenty-four Views in Hindostan.” Price two hundred sicca rupees for the whole.

A proposal appears, in 1794, for publishing a series of two hundred and fifty engravings, illustrative of the manners and customs of the natives of Bengal, by a gentleman of the name of Solvyns ; the price of the work Rs. 250.

A small collection of valuable paintings, formerly the property of Mr. Hughes, consul at Alexandria for the India and Dutch India Company, is advertised for sale in 1795, at “the Europe, China and India Warehouse, No. 46, Radha Bazar.” The subjects are curious ; viz.,—

Solomon’s Idolatry, a Pagan Temple		
with various figures, by Zario, 1658	Sa. Rs.	800
An original painting of the beheading		
of John the Baptist, by Corregio ...	..	2,500

A candle light painting on copper by			
Rembrandt	...	„	400
Virgin and Child by Rubens	...	„	500
A naked Venus, full length after Titian	...	„	500
A ditto Venus, Voleysti	...	„	400

The prices given show the market value of such paintings at that time.

“F. F. Belnos, miniature, painter and drawing master, paints miniature pictures, at the rate of 130 sicca rupees each.” 25th January, 1810.

A writer in the *Pioneer*, two or three years ago, gave some interesting particulars of all the artists that had visited India. His account with some additions and alterations, we have taken the liberty to subjoin :—

Tilly Kettle

It seems singular, but as far as our enquiries have gone, our possessions in the East appear to have attracted none of our artists, till towards the end of the last century. Then there came a shoal of them ; and afterwards the fancy died away, till it was revived in the time of living draftsmen.

When Zoffany suddenly determined to make the voyage to India in 1783, his friend Paul Sandby, the chief drawing master at Woolwich, says, he anticipated “rolling in gold dust.” But the pagoda tree had already been shaken by an enterprising adventurer, in the person of Tilly Kettle, who appears to have arrived in Calcutta in 1772. The large ceiling picture in the Theatre at Oxford, painted by Robert Streater in Charles the 2nd’s time—the flying Amorini of which have been much admired, had fallen out of repair, and Kettle was a man of sufficient mark to have been commissioned to put it to rights. He had been also a constant contributor to the Incorporated Society of Artists.

He only stayed four years in India, but in that short time is said to have amassed a large fortune—we may presume a large one for him ; at any rate it did not last long. He probably devoted himself to portraits for the most part, but after his return to London he exhibited in the year 1781 an historical piece, called “The Mogul of Hindustan reviewing the East India Company’s Troops.”

This historical picture is a representation of a review by the Emperor Shah Alum of the troops at Allahabad, under the command of Sir Robert Barker, in September 1767. The account of this review, given by Mrs. Kindersley in one of her letters, may prove interesting to some of our readers :—

“Upon a great holiday amongst the Mahomedans, by desire of the Great Mogul, the English troops were out to be reviewed by him. But it appeared very extraordinary to us that he did not take the least notice of anything, or even look on the troops while they were going through their evolutions ; if he did look, it was with an eye askant, much practised by Mussulmen. It seems it is inconsistent with dignity to appear to observe. However mortified the soldiers might be at this seeming neglect, we were still pleased with such an opportunity of viewing a shadow of Eastern magnificence ; for although the parade exceeded anything I had ever seen, it was but a miniature of former grandeur. All the trappings of dignity were displayed on this occasion ; the Mogul himself was on an elephant richly covered with embroidered velvet, the howdah magnificently lacquered and gilded ; his sons were likewise on elephants. The plain was almost covered with his attendants, the officers of his court, their servants, and their servants’ servants, sepoy, peadahs, &c., did not amount to less than fifteen hundred people. All, except the sepoy, were according to custom, dressed in white jermas and turbans, the principal people were on horseback and well mounted : the train was increased by a great many state elephants, state palanquins, and horses richly caparisoned. The gilding of the howdahs and palanquins, the gold stuffs of the bedding and cushions, the silver and gold ornaments, the tassels and fringe of various colors, some of them even mixed with small pearls, the rich umbrellas, the trappings of the horses, and all together glittered in the sun and made a most brilliant appearance : such is the pomp of Eastern kings ! and all the Indians of any sort or consequence pride themselves on the number of their attendants.

“After the review was over, the Mogul had a public *divan* or court. On these occasions he is seated on the

musnud, which is a stand about the size of a small bedstead, covered with a rich cloth ; upon it is an oblong plate of silver, gilded and turned up round the edges ; in this he sits cross-legged, as is the fashion of the country. In this manner the prince, surrounded by the officers of his court, receives all petitions, and those who have the honor to be presented to him.* * * The English field-officers were all presented to him ; the officer before he enters the *divan* is taken into another apartment, and a *Mori's dress* is given him which is the present from the Mogul, this he puts on, then leaving his shoes at the door he enters the *divan*, making three salaams, after which he advances forward to the *musnud*, and presents some gold mohurs, which the Mogul orders one of his officers to receive without taking any further notice of the person presented to him. The dress given on these occasions is generally showy and slight, embroidered with plated gold and coloured silks, upon muslin more or less rich according to the rank of the person to whom it is given ; the *sera peach*, the jewel which ornaments the forepart of the turban is composed of emeralds, diamonds and rubies, but most imperfect stones."

In less than ten years after his return from the East, poor Kettle had failed in London—failed in Dublin ; and calling to mind the golden hours of Bengal, he once more endeavoured to visit that country, and determined to go thither overland. He only reached Aleppo, however, where he died, being then some five and forty years old—a man still in his prime. The portraits of Tilly Kettle are said to have that decisiveness which usually marks good likenesses—to be weak in the drawing part, but agreeable in colour.

William Hodges

William Hodges seems to have been originally an errandboy in the streets of London ; he was then taken notice of by Wilson, the great landscape painter, and taught the elements of the art.

For some time he was a scene painter at Derby, but having exhibited at the Spring Gardens' Rooms, he was in 1772 appointed draftsman to Captain Cook's second expedition. This kept him absent from England for three years,

and on his return, he exhibited views of Otaheite and New Zealand, and also some home landscapes. He was now well enough established to marry, but losing his young wife he fell into that restless condition so often induced by a misfortune of the kind and was doubtless reckless as to what became of his prospects and in a mood for adventure and travel.

At this juncture, he received an invitation from Warren Hastings to visit India. He arrived in 1777 or 1778, being then about five and thirty, and seems to have done well—for he was able to return in 1784 to England with money.

He exhibited his Indian views, which seem to have been landscapes, and from the fact of its being stated that Sawrey Gilpin put in wild animals for him, they may be supposed to have represented the jungle. This Gilpin was the Landseer of his day; his speciality at first being horses, in which line he brought himself into notice by his "Accession of Darius through the neighing of his horse;" but he after studied animals in general, and worked in collaboration with both Barret and Zoffany. Four of Hodges' Indian pictures were engraved; he published also a collection of Indian views aqua-tinted by himself, and he illustrated his travels in India by his drawings. He must, therefore, have been very industrious whilst out here. He became an R. A., and joined in the great undertaking of Boydell's Shakespeare. It would be agreeable to leave him thus at work,—but unfortunately for himself he set up a bank in Dartmouth, which failed, and buried him in its ruins. Health broke down, and he died at Brixham in Torbay, 1797, in great poverty. Mr. Samuel Redgrave says of Hodges' style, that with some appearance of power, his works are loose in their execution and monotonous in colour.

On the 18th November, 1784, a notice in the *Calcutta Gazette* announced "that the valuable collections of paintings, late the property of Augustus Cleveland, deceased, would be sold by public auction on the 24th instant, consisting of the most capital views in the districts of Monghyr, Rajmahal, Boglipore, and the Jungletterry by Mr. Hodges." For some unexplained cause the sale was postponed, and

did not take place until December 1794. Amongst the pictures then sold were twenty-one views by William Hodges. They are described as follows in the advertisement :—"Hill and Lake of Ture ; Hill Mundar ; Mooty Jumna waterfall ; Bejy Gur ; Rajmahal Peer Pahar Hill, Monghyr ; Monghyr Fort ; Jehangeira Fort ; Sickergully ; another view of the same place ; Oodooa Nullah ; Byjenath or Deo Gur ; Rocks in Jungleterry ; Bhagulpore Nullah and Mosque ; Tomb and distant view of Rajmahal Hills ; a Dirgah ; Lake Jungleterry ; Hill of Ture ; a Banyan Tree ; Lake Jungleterry and a thunderstorm ; Bhagulpore House, distant view."

In 1785 Hodges published in London "A comparative view of the ancient monuments in India, particularly those in the Island of Salsit, near Bombay, as described by different writers illustrated with prints ;" and in 1793 appeared his "Travels in India during the years 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783." This last work was also illustrated with sketches from his pencil.

Johann Zoffany

The painter of the widest reputation who ever sought the banks of the Hooghly was the celebrated Johann Zoffany. Though his surname has an Italian look he was really a German and was born at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in 1733. He ran away from home when quite a boy, and found himself at Rome with a passion for art,—and of course, very little else. But through the intervention of his father he was noticed by one of the Cardinals, and lodged in a convent. He remained twelve years in Italy, visiting the different cities, and then after a short visit to Germany made his way to London in 1761.

When Zoffany first arrived in the British metropolis, he brought with him some thing short of a hundred pounds. "With this," said he, relating his adventures, many years after, to an old friend—"with this I commenced *maccaroni*, bought a suite *a la mode*, a gold watch, and gold-headed cane." Thus equipped, he walked into the service of Benjam Wilson a portrait painter, then residing in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. With this artist he

engaged himself as drapery painter, and remained with him until tired of the monotony of his employment, he determined to try his fortune by trading on the capital of his talent on his own account. He accordingly took furnished apartments at the upper part of Tottenham Court Road, near where was so long exposed the sculptured figure of the piper, and commenced his practice, as a *limner*, by painting the portraits of his landlord and landlady, which, as a standing advertisement, were placed on each side the gate that opened into the area before the house. Garrick, by chance passing that way, saw these specimens, admired them, and enquired for the painter. The interview ended in his employing the artist to paint himself in small, and hence were produced those admired subjects in which our *Roscus* made so conspicuous a figure. That, however, in which he is represented as *Abel Drugger* obtained for the painter the greatest fame. Sir Joshua Reynolds was so pleased with this truly dramatic piece, that he purchased it of Zoffany for the sum of one hundred guineas. This flattering circumstance alone might have rapidly advanced the fortunes of Zoffany, but his liberal habits of living exceeded his income, and though never from this moment wanting employment, his finances became seriously straitened.

The late Earl of Carlisle, at this period, conversing with Sir Joshua, expressed a wish that he had been the possessor of this said picture of Garrick in the character of Abel Drugger. He had often endeavoured to persuade his friend Sir Joshua to part with it. "Well, my Lord," said he, "what premium will you pay upon my purchase?" "Any sum you will name," replied the Earl. "Then it is yours, my lord, if you will pay me one hundred guineas, and add fifty as a gratuity to Mr. Zoffany." His lordship consented, and so, to the credit as well as satisfaction of all parties, it was settled.

Zoffany at length, through the friendly offices of Sir Joshua, obtained the notice of the great; and a portrait which he painted of a nobleman, we believe Lord Barrymore, acquired for him a great succession of employment, and consequent celebrity. He obtained the patronage of

the reigning majesties, and some of his best pictures are those of portraits and conversation pieces of the royal family.

But he was always rather uncertain in his plans and apt to take up suddenly some novel idea. He surprised and disappointed all his friends by determining to accompany Sir Joseph Banks in the voyage with Cook round the world. But when he came to see his cabin he did not like it,—did not think it suitable for painting purposes and threw up his voyage.

Having expressed a wish to visit Italy, His Majesty generously assisted him in providing the means for his journey, presenting him with £300 and a letter of introduction to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. It was owing to a desire hinted by the queen on his departure, that Zoffany produced the picture of the Florence gallery. Exceeding his commission, he produced the elaborate and highly meritorious picture in question, which, after his return to England, finishing with the utmost care, he submitted to Their Majesties at Buckingham House.

Some years subsequent to his return from Italy, this picture of the Florence Gallery, however, was purchased of Zoffany by the queen, and as we are informed, at the instance of the then president of the Royal Academy, for six hundred guineas; a sum perhaps commensurate with the value of the picture in those days, though not an entire remuneration for the labour bestowed upon it.

When the Royal Academy was founded in 1768, Zoffany was nominated a member, and in 1772 he painted a picture called, if we remember right, "The Life School of the Royal Academy," and which contains portraits of the thirty six foundation members. The thirty-four male academicians are represented in various attitudes, and on the walls of the room are portraits in frames of the two female members, Angelica Kauffman and Mary Moser. Zoffany has represented himself with a palette in his hand, and we would here observe that it was apparently his practice to introduce a portrait of himself, either with a pencil or a palette in his hand, into all his pictures containing a large number of figures. This painting was purchased by

George III., and is now in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace.

After acquiring great distinction in England, Zoffany travelled on the continent for a few years, adding considerably to his reputation by his "Interior of the Florentine Picture Gallery," and other works. Returning to England he remained there but for a short time and then sailed for India, arriving in Calcutta in 1780. From Calcutta he went to Lucknow, where he is said to have lived for three or four years; after visiting Agra, then in possession of the Mah-rattas, he returned to Calcutta, and remained there until the rains of 1789.

Probably the largest piece he painted in India was "The Embassy of Hyder Beg Khan to Warren Hastings." This picture is said to contain upwards of one hundred figures. "The Cock-fight at Lucknow" contains about twenty-four figures. Amongst them is Asaph-u-Daula, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh; Mr. Edward Wheler, a member of Council, and who died at Calcutta in October 1784; Captain Mordaunt, whose cocks were matched against those of the Nawab; General Claude Martine and other celebrities, European and native, who happened to be at Lucknow at the time. In a corner of the picture is Zoffany himself, pencil in hand. The original of this picture is, we believe, still at Lucknow. Calcutta, however, can boast of one of the finest productions of Zoffany's pencil in the admirable altar-piece representing The Last Supper, a gift from the artist to St. John's Church. It is said that the head of each apostle was the portrait of some one living at the time in Calcutta; Tulloh, the auctioneer, sitting for Judas, while he was allowed to believe that he was sitting for the apostle John. Shortly after the consecration of the church on the 24th of June, 1787, it was proposed at a meeting of the church committee to present the artist, who, it was said, was about to leave Calcutta, with a ring of the value of Rs. 5,000, "in consideration of this signal exertion of his eminent talents." The low state of their funds, however, prevented the committee from carrying out this proposal, but it was unanimously agreed to send him an honourable written testimonial of the respect in which they held his

ability as an artist. The following is an extract from the letter which was sent to Zoffany :—"We should do a violence to your delicacy were we to express, or endeavour to express, in such terms as the occasion calls for, our sense of the favour you have conferred on the settlement by presenting their first place of worship so capital a painting that it would adorn the first church in Europe, and should excite in the breasts of its spectators those sentiments of virtue and piety so happily portrayed in the figures."

Zoffany must have painted the portraits of most of the leading members of the European community in India, at the time of his visit, as well as those of several natives of rank. His likeness of Sir Elijah Impey is in the High Court at Calcutta, one which he took of Warren Hastings was engraved in Calcutta by Mr. R. Britridge, and sold, framed and glazed, at 2 gold mohurs per copy. That of Madame Grand used to adorn the walls of the late Mr. John Clark Marshman at Serampore.

It was whilst he was at Agra, that Zoffany most probably painted the portrait of Mahdajee Sindia, referred to by Sir James Mackintosh in the journal of his visit to Poona in 1805. He says :—"Near the monument which is being erected to the memory of Mahdajee Sindia is a sorry hut where the ashes of this powerful chieftain were deposited for a time, and where they may now lie long undisturbed. It is a small pagoda where, in the usual place of the principal deity, is a picture of Sindia by Zoffany, very like that in the Government House at Bombay. Before the picture lights are kept constantly burning, and offerings daily made by an old servant of the Maharajah, whose fidelity rather pleased me, even though I was told that the little pagoda was endowed with lands which yielded a small income, sufficient for the worship and the priest." This picture by Zoffany is probably the only work of European art which is now the object of adoration ; it has obtained one honour refused to the "Transfiguration."

Zoffany returned to England in 1790, having amassed a considerable amount of money ; but though he lived for 20 years, his trip to the East seemed to have exhausted his powers. Whether he was stricken with that singular medio-

crity occasionally supervening on residence in India, cannot be decided ; but the fact remains, that his hand had lost its cunning, and though he continued to paint, the vigour and the character were gone. He died at Kew in 1810.

Thomas Longcroft

Zoffany on his passage out to India in 1780, had for a fellow-voyager one Thomas Longcroft, a Bengal indigo-planter, who appears to have possessed artistic tastes, and to have taken lessons in drawing and painting from Zoffany, as an agreeable mode of relieving the tedium of the long sea voyage. He afterwards turned these lessons to good account by sketching many places of interest in Benares, Agra, and Delhi. His sketches were sent to his friends in England from time to time, and about four years ago one of his descendants, a Miss Twinning, presented several of them to the British Museum.

A contemporary account of this donation states that the sketches "are remarkable even now for their correct rendering of the character of the scenery, and accuracy with regard to architectural details. Modern photographs of the buildings he drew prove him, indeed, to have been exact even in the most unimportant features." He died in India about 1811, as in Gardner's *Calcutta Annual Directory* for 1812 his estate is mentioned as one of those in the hands of the Administrator General, Thomas Thomson being his executor. In October of that year was sold the whole of the drawings, sketches, &c., belonging to the deceased. These drawings were seven hundred in number, and represented copies of the remains of Hindoo and Musalman buildings, sketches of plants and trees, implements, &c., to be seen in the different parts of Bengal where Mr. Longcroft had travelled.

Robert Home

Robert Home was a London man and a pupil of the celebrated Angelica Kauffmann, and if the date of his first portrait at the Academy—1770—is correct, he must have exhibited when he was quite a lad. We find him in Dublin in 1780, and in London again in 1789.

Robert Home practised his art in this country for close upon forty years. He is believed to have landed at Madras in 1790, and whilst there painted a portrait of Lord Cornwallis, which gained him a high reputation, as also did his views of the Mysore country. Towards the end of 1792, Home arrived in Calcutta, and at once secured a large share of patronage.

He settled in the first instance at Lucknow, attracted thither, doubtless, by the liberality of the Nawab Vizier Asaf-ud-Daula, who appointed him his historical and portrait painter. It would seem that he made a good deal of money in a short time in this appointment, but he removed to Cawnpore, finding perhaps the Nawab capricious ; for that prince is said to have required the expunging of any courtier from a group if he had quarrelled with him after the sketch was taken. To this time we must attribute the large picture now at Hampton Court, representing the Nawab of Oude receiving tribute.

Asaf-ud-Daula died in 1797, and it seems likely that a year or so previously to that event, Home had gone to Madras, for he exhibited a lively interest in the dramatic events which were going on Mysore. In 1797, he sent home two pictures, "Tippoo's Sons received as Hostages" (a subject which, as we have seen, engaged at least two other brushes), and the "Death of Morehouse at the storming of Bangalore." He published, too, a "Description of Seringapatam" and "Select Views of Mysore," which embraced many scenes in the war with Tippoo.

Home then settled in Calcutta, where he resided many years.

Home was a man of good family, a brother of Sir Everard, and two of his sons were distinguished officers. One fell fighting at the head of his regiment, on the dreadful day of Sobraon. As an artist, Home ranks very high. He drew with great precision and correctness, and his colour is rich and pleasing, and having been carefully prepared by himself, has stood the test of time well.

Before leaving Calcutta, Home had painted the portraits of most of the principal residents of Calcutta ;

amongst them was the only portrait that was ever taken of Dr. Carey, the missionary.

Home was engaged by the Nawab Saudut Ali on a salary of Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000 a year, with permission to employ his leisure in private practice. Bishop Heber, who visited Lucknow in October, 1824, thus writes of Home : —“I sat for my portrait to Mr. Home four times. He has made several portraits of the King, redolent of youth, and radiant with diamonds, and a portrait of Sir E. Paget, which he could not help making a resemblance. He is a very good artist indeed for a King of Oude to have got hold of. He is a quiet, gentlemanly old man, brother of the celebrated surgeon in London, and came out to practise as a portrait painter at Madras, during Lord Cornwallis's first administration ; was invited from thence to Lucknow by Saudut Ali a little before his death, and has since been retained by the King at a fixed salary, to which he adds a little by private practice. His son is a captain in the Company's service, but is now attached to the King of Oude as equerry and European aide-de-camp. Mr. Home would have been a distinguished painter had he remained in Europe, for he has a great deal of taste, and his drawing is very good and rapid ; but it has been of course a great disadvantage to him to have only his own works to study, and he, probably, finds it necessary to paint in glowing colours to satisfy his royal master.”

After the death of the Bishop, Mr. Home, unsolicited, sent the widow a copy of her husband's portrait ; another copy was also sent to Calcutta for the Bishop's College.

Home retired from the Nawab's service at an advanced age, and spent the remainder of his days at Cawnpore, where he kept up a handsome establishment ; and until the loss of his daughter and increasing infirmities rendered him averse to society, was wont to exercise the most extensive hospitality to the residents of the station.

George Chinnery

In the winter exhibition, at the Grosvenor Gallery in London, there was a small portrait of George Chinnery by himself. An oldish man as there represented, with ruffled

hair, rather a self-assertive nose, and an eager, ready look. He was, we believe, of Irish extraction, but appeared first in London as a portrait painter in crayons and afterwards as a miniature painter. Towards the close of the century he was in Dublin, and was appointed a member of the Irish Academy. He seems to have reached Calcutta at the end of 1802 or the beginning of 1803. There he resided for many years, and was a favourite portrait painter amongst all classes. His style has a singular charm, bright and animated, and his colour is most pleasing.

In Government House, Calcutta, there is a three-quarter length of Sir Eyre Coote by this artist, and a full length of the Nawab Saudut Ali Khan half brother of Asaf-ud-Daula, and the best of the Oude rulers. In the High Court, in Calcutta, there is a full length of Sir Henry Russell, by Chinnery; and in 1824 he was engaged in painting the portrait of Sir Francis Macnaghten, Chief Justice, to be placed in the Court House among the portraits of his predecessors, who had distinguished themselves on the Calcutta Bench. The portrait is life-like, and exact; the production is one of the finest specimens of Mr. Chinnery's talents, which are "universally acknowledged to be rare and splendid," says the editor of the *Government Gazette*.

Chinnery is said to have remained in Calcutta for about twenty years. His earnings were estimated at Rs. 5,000 a month, but his prodigality was so great that he largely exceeded his income. The late Mr. John Marshman used to say that Chinnery could rarely be induced to finish his portraits; after having satisfied himself with a masterly representation of the countenance he turned to a new subject. Hence when he left Calcutta, more than twenty unfinished portraits were brought to the hammer. If he had employed an inferior artist to complete the figure, and fill up the drapery, he would have made a much larger income.

The artist moved at length from India and proceeded to China; and in 1830, after more than a quarter of a century, he renewed his connexion with the London Academy by exhibiting a portrait which he sent home from Canton. After this, he once or twice exhibited again after intervals, and the last painting exhibited at the Academy was a por-

trait of himself ; this was in 1846. He is understood to have died at Macao. His talents were very versatile. He produced in China river scenes in the manner which, when he left England, passed for water colour ; that is to say, the sketch was carefully done in pencil and then tinted. There were many pieces exhibited in London drawn in with the pen, worked up with washes, and finished with colour. Chinnery etched also with great ability : indeed there is no question he was a genius ; and under different circumstances might have been far more generally known. But he had some of the infirmities as well as the gifts of genius ; was unstable and eccentric, and never steadily kept the prize of a great reputation before him.

Mr. Hickey

Mr. Hickey, an artist who appears to have resided in the Madras Presidency during the whole of the time he was in India, announced in "October 1799 that he had undertaken to paint the following subjects connected with the capture of Seringapatnam on the 4th of May of that year :— "The Storming of the Breach at Seringapatam," "The Interview with the Princes in the Palace," "The Finding of Tippoo's Body," "The First Interview of the Commissioners of Mysore with the family of the Rajah," "The Funeral of Tippoo," "The reception of Lieutenant Harris with the Colours of Tippoo in Fort St. George," "The placing of the Rajah on the Musnud of Mysore." It was further stated that engravings would be made from these pictures to be executed by eminent artists in London.

On the 4th of May 1800, the anniversary of the capture of Seringapatam, a full-length picture of the Earl of Mornington was opened for inspection at the Exchange. This picture, which was painted at the request of the principal inhabitants of Madras, represents his Lordship in his Windsor uniform with the insignia of the Order of St. Patrick, seated at a table, having a scroll spread on it, and on the scroll is inscribed the heads of the Partition Treaty ; in the background is seen the steeple and flag-staff of Fort St. George, with the English union jack flying over the standard of the late Sultan.

Amongst the best known of Hickey's portraits is that of Mr. Josias Webbe, of the Madras Civil Service, and at the time Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras. This portrait was engraved, and one of the prints used to be in the dining-room of the late Duke of Wellington at Strathfieldsaye, and regarding it the following anecdote is told. The old style of dress in which Mr. Webbe is depicted attracted the curiosity of a lady visitor who asked the Duke, "Who that man with such a neckcloth and coat was meant for?" His Grace replied; "That man was one of the ablest I ever knew, and what is more one of the honestest."

George Farington

George Farington was a contemporary of Zoffany in India. His father was Rector of Warrington, and he was born there in 1754. His elder brother, Joseph, was a well-known landscape painter—a highly successful pupil of Richard Wilson, and ultimately an influential Academician. George became a student under the guidance of this brother, and was afterwards placed with Benjamin West, then gradually rising into his extraordinary fame—extraordinary when it is remembered that he was classed by his compeers with the Carracci—and now denied almost all merit.

Farington got the gold medal of the Academy for his "Macbeth" in 1780. He exhibited a portrait in 1783, and appears immediately afterwards to have gone to the East. As he was one of the artists selected by Alderman Boydell to make drawings from the Houghton Collection, it seems probable that he was a good painter, and he is said to have been very industrious during the time he was in India—a period, however, of less than five years; for in 1788 he died, having taken fever by exposure to the night air. As he was a man of some mark, we regret more that we are not able to specify the scene of his labours, nor to give the names of any of his pictures. A large Durbar painting was said to have been in progress when death overtook him; but whether any trace of this exists, we cannot tell.

Ozias Humphrey

The eminent miniature painter Ozias Humphrey visited Bengal in the beginning of 1785. He was a Devonshire man, having been born at Honiton in 1742, and there also also he was educated ; but his parents having observed his taste for drawing, sent him, very wisely, to London, to be thoroughly grounded. Probably from the first he exhibited a preference for small surfaces ; for when he was still quite young, he was placed with Samuel Collins at Bath, well known as a miniature painter, who afterwards migrated to Dublin with a great access of reputation.

Humphrey settled in London in 1764, being then only two-and-twenty ; and so soon as 1766 he had attracted the notice of the King who commanded him to paint miniatures of the Queen and other members of the Royal family. All went well till 1773, when a fall from his horse greatly enfeebled his health, and he was obliged to seek relaxation in travel. He started for Italy with the eccentric Romney who very soon parted from him. His tour extended to Rome, Naples, Venice, &c. ; but curiously enough, this journey, which has been the turning point in the lives of so many artists, very nearly ruined Humphrey's prospects.

For, returning in 1777, he must need try the higher walks of art, paint subjects ; or if he was to paint portraits it must now be on large canvasses. But the truth was, he had hit on his vein, in the first instance ; and these new attempts were in lines for which he had not the necessary gifts.

He seems to have gone out to India through disappointment at the cold way in which his grander style was received. But he had the courage and good sense to resume the work he was really fitted for, and in Calcutta, Moorshe-dabad, Benares and Lucknow he painted the miniatures of native princes and persons of distinction, and we make no doubt many of these exist to the present day.

He is considered to have caught the character of Reynolds without any subordination of his own originality. The simple composition—excellent drawing and sweet colour—give his miniatures a peculiar charm ; and they are moreover easy of recognition, as he used a remarkable signature—a Roman O with an H inside it.

He was only three years in India, when his health, never strong, necessitated his return. One of those large tasks was then undertaken by him, which have more than once over-exerted the strength of devoted artists. He commenced a cabinet for the Duke of Dorset. The idea was altogether princely; it was to be ornamented with miniatures taken from the family house at Knowle. Fifty were completed, and then the incessant application began to injure the eyesight of the artist.

With the good sense which seems to have been a characteristic, Humphrey at once abandoned minute work, and adopted the free style of crayon drawing. In this he had much success; but about the close of the century his sight suddenly and completely failed, and after ten years in the dark he departed. Humphrey must be placed very near the throne of miniature painting certainly in the first rank of those who have exercised the art; and it is gratifying to think that India had for a time the services of this distinguished man, more especially as the art itself has succumbed before the advance of photography, though, except in point of fidelity, the exchange has certainly not been for the better.

Thomas, William and Samuel Daniell

India owes a heavy debt of gratitude to the Daniell family. It is really astonishing how much they did to render familiar in England the scenery and customs of this country. The eldest Daniell, Thomas, was the son of an inn-keeper at Chertsey, and was born in 1749. He early displayed his gift in art, and exhibited at the Academy in 1774, and continued to contribute for ten years—flower pieces and landscapes. He then turned towards the East, and devoted himself for the rest of his long life to oriental subjects. When he started for India, he took with him his nephew, William, then a lad of fourteen; and during the period between 1784 and 1794 they visited various parts of the country, and amassed great stores of sketches of regions which had not before been represented.

The two Daniells afterwards in 1793 (after painting views of the caves of Elephanta) left Bombay for China and other parts of the Eastern archipelago.

The uncle and nephew published views of Calcutta in that city, and, on their return to England, set about the great work that is associated with their names—the *Oriental Scenery*. This splendid publication appeared in six volumes, and comprised 144 views; it was completed in 1808. It may be conceived with what earnestness William Daniell applied himself to the task : when it is mentioned that out of the six volumes, five were engraved in mezzo-tint by his own hand or under his immediate superintendence. William had of course been too young to contribute to the Academy before he went to India, but, immediately on their return, he and his uncle exhibited.

For some time they both painted Indian views, and Thomas Daniell persevered steadily in his eastern vein ; but the younger, William, was very successful also in views of London, and afterwards of country scenes in England. William, however, returned to the country in which his passion for art had been nurtured ; for in 1832 he painted with some assistance a panorama of the city of Madras ; and afterwards by himself another of Lucknow, with a representation of the method of taming elephants.

There was yet a third Daniell, Samuel, brother of William. He also was trained as an artist, and was apparently a pupil of Medland—an engraver and water-colour painter of the period. This Medland was Art Professor at the East India College, when it was located at Hertford, and before Wilkins had built that coldly classical fabric for it on Amwell Heath, afterwards known as Haileybury.

Samuel Daniell was a man of great energy, a passionate naturalist and intrepid traveller ; and went in early life to the Cape, from whence he penetrated into the interior of Africa. He returned to London in 1804 with a great collection of drawings, which were afterwards published under the title of *African Scenery*. But the forest had become a second home to him, and in 1806 he was off again to Ceylon, which he made his head-quarters for six years. From thence he seems to have visited India, and to have travelled in Bhootan ; for his brother William afterwards published a book called *Views of Bhootan* from sketches which had been executed by Samuel Daniell.

But the weird spirits that live in lofty woods and haunt the margin of tropical swamps resented the intrusion of this adventurous spirit into their ancient and solitary abodes, and they breathed on him their deadly exhalations and weakened his body with fever and pains engendered of malaria. At the early age of thirty-six, after a few days' illness, Samuel Daniell succumbed to death in Ceylon in the year 1811.

Think then, by way of summary, of what this family did to render India famous,—to introduce to English fire-side travellers the shrines and forests of the Deccan; the ancient manners and customs of the country; the emporiums which owed their existence to modern enterprise, as well as those strange rock excavations which may be said almost to precede architecture.

First of all there was the grand book, the *Oriental Scenery*, of which we have spoken. Then there were 24 plates of the Hindoo excavations at Ellora, and the Picturesque Voyage to India. Moreover, Thomas Daniell, for thirty years after his return from the East, contributed to the Academy, and his subjects were almost always Indian temples, or tiger hunts and other sports followed out at native courts. The painting was considered accurate, if rather thin, and the colouring was pleasant and attractive.

William Daniell again exhibited many pictures at the Academy, which were founded on his Indian sketches. He published the Bhootan Views, which the enterprise of his brother Samuel had produced, and he exhibited before the public of London the panoramas of Madras and Lucknow. He illustrated also the *Oriental Annual*, a serial which stood out amongst those ephemeral publications for the beauty of its printing, binding, and general finish.

Fame, competency, and the honors of the Academy awaited the two elder Daniells—that is to say, the uncle and the elder nephew; and Samuel, as we have seen, passed early away in the tropical island he had described in his *Scenery, Animals and Natives of Ceylon*.

Thomas Daniell lies in Kensal Green, having lived to the great age of 91. William died three years before him in 1837.

We have rather a taste in India for memorials of obscure people : it requires a really good biographical dictionary to find out, sometimes, who our heroes are. But, surely, if the honor in which men are held was strictly regulated by their merits, there would be a testimonial in some part of India which should record the name of Daniell. It is remarkable that Zoffany, Ozias Humphrey, and Thomas and William Daniell were all at once time in this country together.

John Smart

John Smart landed at Madras in 1788, being then nearly fifty years of age. He was a pupil of Daniell Dodd, a miniature painter and subject painter on small canvasses ; a few of whose things survive in engravings, such as the "Royal Academy, Somerset House," the figures in which are well drawn ; a portrait of the actor Leveridge ; another of the well-known boxer, Ruckhorse, &c. Smart was a fellow-student in the St. Martin's Lane drawing-school, with the fashionable and eccentric Cosway.

He appears to have had fair success in London as a miniature painter and artist in crayons ; but it must be supposed that his work did not prove sufficiently lucrative : for in 1783 we find him migrating to Ipswich, and after a five years' residence there, turning his thoughts to the East, from whence rumours of easily-gained wealth must have reached England, or it is difficult otherwise to account for the rush of artists in that direction during this and the next decade.

He went first to Madras, and afterwards, it is believed, to Calcutta and Lucknow ; and in all these places his miniatures were much appreciated. They are generally marked "J. S.," and are highly finished, the drawing correct, and the colour delicate. He stayed five years in India, and then returned to his profession in London.

It is probable that he considered Madras to afford a good opening for a young artist ; for his son, also a John Smart, who exhibited miniatures at the Academy in 1800 and in 1808, died at Madras in 1809.

There can be little doubt that the trial of Warren

Hastings filled the imaginations of people in England with ideas of the romance and magnificence of this country. The impeachment commenced in February 1788, and for a time occupied great attention; the scene was commemorated by the water-colour painter Edward Dayes, from which an engraving was made.

Arthur William Devis

Arthur William Devis, the son of an artist, was born in London in 1763, and so early exhibited a talent for his father's profession, that at the age of 20 he was appointed by the East India Company as draftsman to an expedition they were then fitting out. He sailed in the *Antelope*, but the ship was wrecked in the North Pacific on the Pelew Islands. The crew seemed to have been all saved, and sailor-like, to have beguiled their enforced leisure by joining in the tribal fights amongst the islanders. Devis must have taken a prominent part in these; for he was twice wounded. He and his companions, however, got tired of the position, as they might well do, and managed to build a ship of some kind. It looks a long stretch on the map from the Carolines to Macao, but they effected the voyage somehow or other.

Mr. Devis arrived in Calcutta about 1791, before the completion of St. John's Church, and following the example of Zoffany, offered his services to aid in its decoration. We next hear of him in October, 1792, as being at Santipore, "busily engaged in the execution of his paintings, from which the engravings of the arts and manufactures of Bengal are to be taken."

He does not appear to have accompanied Lord Cornwallis in his campaign against Tippoo, for we read that, at an entertainment given at the theatre at Calcutta on the 7th February, 1793, by the gentlemen who held the principal appointments in the Company's civil establishment, in commemoration of the victory at Seringapatam on the 6th February, 1792, amongst other decorations was a large transparent painting by Mr. Devis, from a drawing by Lieutenant Conyngham, 76th Regiment, exhibiting the storming of Bangalore by the British troops on the night of

the 21st March, 1791. There was also a grand transparent view of Seringapatam by Messrs. Devis and Solwyns, from a drawing by Lieutenant Colebrooke. The following month the senior military officers at Calcutta gave a ball and supper, in commemoration of the peace which had been signed under the walls of Seringapatam, and the services of Mr. Devis were again called into requisition for the embellishment of the theatre. The only portrait painted by Devis, of which we can find any mention, is a full length one of Lord Cornwallis, which was engraved by Mr. Henry Hudson of Calcutta.

In February 1794, he published a proposal for a print from his painting of "The reception of the hostage Princes." The size of the engraving was not to be less than that of the death of Lord Chatham, "but so much larger as the artist, who shall be of the first abilities, will undertake," for another print was to accompany it with an outline of each head, and a reference expressing the name and rank of each individual at the scene delineated. The engraving to be dedicated, by permission, to the Most Noble Marquis Cornwallis and army under his command. The price was to be eighty sicca rupees.

We obtain some further particulars from the papers about Devis, and his picture of the reception by Lord Cornwallis of Tippoo's two sons—Abdul Kalick and Moozaud-Deen—as hostages for the due performance of the treaty on the 26th February, 1792 :—"The two young princes have long white muslin robes, red turbans, several rows of large pearls round their necks, their manner imitating the reserve and politeness of age. In the background are their attendants, howdahed elephants, camel harras, and standard bearers carrying small green flags suspended from rockets, besides pikemen and the guard of British sepoys,—all depicted with great care and precision even to the caste marks. Lord Cornwallis is shown full of grace and good nature, receiving the Princes, who are being introduced to him by the head vakeel, Gullam Ally. Among the other figures are Sir John Kennaway, the Political Officer, and Colonel John Floyd, 19th Light Dragoons (the first English Regular Cavalry Regiment that ever landed in India,)

commanding the Cavalry. The artist Devis has painted himself in the left hand corner of the picture with a portfolio under his arm,—contemplating the scene which he subsequently represented exactly as described in the graphic account given by Major Dirom in his narrative."

This picture was accidentally found by the Major-General Sir Henry Floyd in an old curiosity and pawnbroker's shop in London ; and it was not until it had been cleaned that he noticed that it contained an excellent likeness of his father General Sir John Floyd. It is unfortunate that a key to this picture does not exist.

Devis painted another picture of the same subject. After his death his widow being unable to sell it, cut out the portraits and sold them separately. Judging from the one of Colonel Floyd, the picture must have been of very much larger size than the first one, and from the position of the head differently grouped. It is to be regretted that for want of finding a timely purchaser, a picture of such historical value should have been lost.

Devis painted no less than thirty pictures, all of Indian subjects. About twenty of these illustrate Indian trades and manufactures. The rest are figures of fakirs, Indian women, agricultural scenes, and two or three relating to historical subjects.

Devis passed a year in China, and then sailed to Bengal whence he returned to England.

Home again in England, at last, Devis set about his professional work in real earnest and produced a great number of historical pieces and portraits which gained him a great reputation. His "Babington Conspiracy," "Signing of the Magna Charta," &c., were made very generally popular through engraving, and we still find the "Sons of Tippoo" in the parlours of inns and other places where old prints linger.

So many families in England knew something of the dreadful prisons of Mysore, both in the time of Hyder Ali and of Tippoo, that the name of the latter came to be held in something of the dread and disgust attaching in our days to that of the Nana. And the circumstances of his career created much excitement and interest : a proof of which

exists in the fact that when Ram Mohun Roy appeared in London in his Bengalee dress, the street boys shouted "Tippoo !" after him.

It will be recollected that Wilkie painted the "Death of Tippoo," a composition that was engraved by John Burnett.

Devis was evidently a man on whom the passing moment made a very vivid impression and thus we find after the battle of Trafalgar, that he went out to meet the *Victory*, drew the cockpit, and got portraits of those who were with the great Admiral when he died. From these materials he produced the "Death of Nelson," now hanging in the gallery at Greenwich Hospital. To this volatile character may be attributed the fact that his stay in India does not appear to have given Devis at all an oriental turn.

His reputation, very great in his lifetime, has not survived. Artists are very cold in their approval of his works, and though they are free from any glaring faults, or obvious deficiencies, they do not rank high. His life had been a chequered one, and it ended very suddenly in apoplexy in 1822.

In connection with Devis's large Indian picture, it may be just mentioned that the same subject, "Cornwallis receiving the sons of Tippoo," was painted by Mathew Brown, an American, who settled in England. Brown had never visited the East, and selected the incident only as being a picturesque one. The painting was engraved, and may be found in old collections. Brown was a pupil of West, and outlived what success he ever attained, dying in 1831 in complete but not unhappy neglect.

Charles Smith

Charles Smith, who styled himself "Painter to the Great Mogul," was a Scotchman, a native of the Orkneys, who set up in London as an artist. He excelled in portraits and exhibited at the Academy in this branch ; and in 1792 a fancy subject, "Shakespeare as an infant nursed between Tragedy and Comedy." He removed to Edinburgh in 1793, and thence came out to India.

Remembering who the Mogul was and the troubles of

the times, it at first seems highly improbable that Charles Smith could have gone to Delhi. We know that some years afterwards Lord Valentia was told he would be scarcely safe in travelling to Agra. But it so happens that in 1794 there was a complete lull in Upper India : the blind old Shah Alum was to be sure a mere pensioner of Scindia ; but for a time he lived in comfort, and though the death of Scindia removed his patron early in 1794, yet the Nana Furnavis kept all things straight, and there seems no reason why Smith should not have gone up-country, nor why the old Mogul should not have employed his services.

Whether any of Smith's handiwork survives, we are not able to state. The artist left the country in 1796 ; but the east does not seem to have afterwards influenced his choice of subjects. He was an accomplished sort of man apparently : for he published, in 1802, a musical entertainment in two acts, called "A Trip to Bengal."

He died at Leith in 1824, having reached the good old age of 75.

James Wales

In the Council Chamber at Bombay there are three large pictures, the first of Baji Rao, the second of the Nana Furnavis, and the last of Mahdoji Scindia. All three were painted by Mr. James Wales, an artist who arrived in India in 1791, accompanied apparently by his family, as his eldest daughter was afterwards married to Sir Charles Malet, the Resident at Poona, and became the mother of Sir Alexander Malet, so well known in diplomatic circles.

The natural taste of the artist seems to have been in the direction of ancient architecture and sculpture. He was a Scotchman, hailing from Peterhead, on the coast of Aberdeen, and was educated at the Marischal College in the local capital. His exhibited pictures at the Academy were portraits ; but in this country he devoted much time to the cave temples and other carvings, working in collaboration with Thomas Daniel at the Ellora excavation. He worked also at Elephanta, making drawings of the sculptures there ; and it was in pursuit of these researches that he met his death.

The jungle grows thick in that part of the island of Salsette, where the interesting Buddhist works are found ; and though the actual hill itself in which occur the caves of Kannari is nearly bare, it has to be approached through tangles of undergrowth. Mr. Wales is reported to have died at Salsette, whither he had gone to make drawings of the excavations ; we may presume he died at Tanna, which is some five miles from Kannari, and unhealthy exposure was probably the cause of this termination of his labours. If he effected anything at Kannari, it does not seem to have been preserved, as the examination of the remains there is always associated with other names. We find no notice in the Indian Hand-book of any monument to this worthy man.

John Alefounder

Little is known of the origin of John Alefounder, but he got a silver medal at the Academy in 1782. He tried portraits in chalk, and then miniature, and both in chalk and oils. And afterwards he attempted oil paintings on large canvasses, two at least of which were good enough to be engraved ; and of these, again the portrait of "Peter the Wild Boy" was from the burin of Bartolozzi, and is, we suppose, the original of the representations generally given of that noble savage.

He came out to Calcutta in 1785 and is said to have made a good thing of his profession.

In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 21st September, 1786 appeared an advertisement from Mr. John Alefounder, portrait painter in oil and miniature. In it he announces that he has perfectly recovered from his late indisposition, and continues to take likenesses as formerly. He goes on to say that during his illness his pictures (which were, in general, portraits of friends) with his colours, canvas, &c., were all sold, by Mr. Devi's order, entirely unknown to him, and without his being once consulted in the business, though at the time he was perfectly capable of managing his affairs, and of practising his profession. He urgently begged that the gentlemen who had purchased any of his pictures, prints, painting utensils, etc. would return them

to him, and particularly requested that the purchaser of his *fitch* pencils would return a part of them, that they would be gratefully received, as none were to be procured in Calcutta, and he had none to paint with.

In 1794 he sent home from Calcutta a portrait for exhibition at the Academy. The next year, however, he died in our Indian metropolis—of fever probably.

There is a portrait of Alefounder in the possession of the Society of Arts, but this must not be taken as a sign of notoriety, but rather of friendship with Shipley, the founder of the society from whose brush the likeness emanated. This Shipley was brother to the Bishop of St. Asaph, and belonged to the family who supplied India with the clever but eccentric wife of Bishop Heber.

Francies Swain Ward

Of Francis Swain Ward there is little to say, except that he was born in London in or about 1750, and gained some reputation as a landscape painter. His fancy was to delineate old castles and mansions. He travelled about the counties, and made sketches from which he painted pictures both in oils and in water-colours. The East India Company, often generous in such matters, took him into employ later on in his life, and he came out to Calcutta, and made many drawings of temples and tombs; and perhaps also of some of the English houses, such as Belvedere, which, if it was, as Mrs. Fay says, "a perfect bijou," would have fallen in with Ward's tastes. He died in 1805.

Samuel Howitt

Samuel Howitt, who devoted himself almost exclusively to the representation of animals and sporting scenes, was born, it is thought, about 1765. In 1793 he exhibited "Jacques and the Deer" we may conclude, chiefly to depict the wounded stag, his swelling leathern coat, and the tear on his innocent nose. In 1794 he landed in Calcutta, and seems to have exerted himself laboriously in making drawings of the wild sports of the country, studying the tiger, wild boar, elephant, and so on; for by 1801 he was ready

with 50 engravings.—Whether he sent these home or went home himself with them is not said, but it appears likely he went home ; for his next publication was the *British Sportsman*, a series of 70 coloured plates, and the eastern vein would seem to have been worked out. His drawings are considered to be marked with spirit and character and, as an etcher, he possessed great finish and truthfulness. His *Æsop's Fables'* illustrations may dwell in the memory of some.

Henry Salt

Those who have read Lord Valentia's travels, will remember that, he brought out a draftsman with him. This was Mr. Henry Salt, native of Lichfield, who was just starting as an artist in London. He accompanied Lord Valentia for four years in different parts of the East, and supplied the illustrations to his lordship's work which was published in 1809. Salt was afterwards sent on an embassy to Abyssinia to negotiate an alliance, and on his return he published some views, and amongst them a few taken by him in India. He became a celebrated man ; but his reputation has no connexion with this country. As Consul-General of Egypt, and the patron and friend of Belzoni, his name is a household word with those who have taken up the science, which from its specific aims, has been termed Egyptology.

William Westall

William Westall was brother to Richard Westall, the Royal Academician, and at the early age of 19 was chosen to accompany Captain Finter on his voyage of Australian discovery. After two years' knocking about, he was wrecked on the northern shore of Australia, and was picked up by a ship bound for China. Arrived in that country, he penetrated into the interior, and took sketches ; and from thence proceeded to Bombay and devoted much attention to the excavations at Karli and Elephanta. He did not, however, settle in this country ; but visited the Cape and Madeira, and accumulated many sketches of which he availed himself, when he found his real vein,—which was

the illustration of books. India takes part in a volume of views published by him in 1811, and in annuals, &c., illustrations of the East from his pencil will be found. But the initial must be looked to, because Richard Westall illustrated also in what may be called the sham oriental style, as will be seen in his *Arabian Nights*.

William John Huggins

India has not been quite devoid of marine painters. William John Huggins began life as a sailor, and was in the service of the East India Company; and when he exchanged the working of ships for the painting of them, some of his first pictures were portraits of Company's vessels. A few of these were engraved, and serve to give an idea of the kind of ship that ascended the Hooghly early in this country. He lived to become marine painter to William IV., whose nautical eye discovered that the artist knew his subject. There are three large pictures of the Battle of Trafalgar by this artist at Hampton Court, and they are thought good by sailors. But the artists are critical, talk of poverty of design, washy skies, thin seas, and so on; and it seems to be settled on all hands that Huggins was no Backhuizen; but he claims a place in our list as a painter of Indian ships.

George Beechey

George Beechey was the son of the Academician, Sir William, and practised some years in London as a portrait painter, having adopted the manner of his father. His father's portraits were good likenesses, and delicate in their colour; but character was thought to be wanting. Sir William was a fashion in his time, but the fashion of this world passeth away, and with the father's popularity went the son's means of living. He came out to Calcutta about 1830, and from that city sent home a portrait for exhibition in 1832. Subsequently he settled at Lucknow, became court painter there, and we suppose that his paintings are not uncommon in that place. He died before the outbreak of the Mutiny.

George Beechey succeeded Mr. Home as court painter

to the Nawab of Oude, and it was said that the Nawab had permitted him to enter his zenana for the purpose of painting the portrait of a royal favourite.

Miscellaneous

The following paintings by Mr. Carter were advertised to be sold by public auction in Calcutta in December 1793: "Marquis Cornwallis," and the "Death of Master Law, a passenger in the Grosvenor," also several drawings of views in Bengal, and forty copies of the plan of Calcutta.

Of Samuel Gold we know nothing more than that he arrived in Calcutta in March 1789, and devoted himself exclusively to the painting of horses and dogs. In his advertisements it was stated that he had studied in Europe under Stubbs, Gilpin, and Barrett.

In 1795 Mr. Upjohn advertised engravings executed by himself of his portrait of Sir William Jones. He had previously published a map of Calcutta in 1793; he died at Calcutta in 1800.

Of Mr. Place, whom we have mentioned as having been employed at Lucknow by the Nawab Saudut Ali, we have failed to ascertain anything beyond the fact that it was proved before a committee of the House of Commons, that up to the end of 1805 he had received between five and six thousand pounds from the Nawab, and that he had painted pictures of the Nawab and his court.

In October 1791, Mr. F. Dean announced his arrival in Calcutta, and that he was prepared to take likenesses in crayon miniature painting.

We have not found any trace of sculptors visiting this country, either in the pursuit of their profession, or in the case of those who represent wild animals, in its study. It accidentally came to our knowledge that his early death deprived the gifted Alfred Gatley of a favorite dream, which was that of visiting Indian jungles, and studying wild beasts in their own haunts and in their natural attitudes. He would have given to our tigers a greater fidelity even than he imparted to the lion that now stands over his Roman grave.

CHAPTER XVII

GOSSIP ABOUT PEOPLE

Mrs. Frances Johnson—(Begum Johnson)

MRS. FRANCES JOHNSON, lady of Rev. William Johnson, formerly senior chaplain, died at Calcutta at her dwelling house to the northward of the old Fort, on 3rd February, 1812, in the 87th year of her age—the oldest British resident in Asia. She was second daughter of Edward Crook of Herefordshire, Governor of Fort St. David on the coast of Coromandel, and was born on the 10th, 1725.

Captain Williamson wrote, in 1800, of the hospitality of Mrs. Johnson, during the latter period of her life :—
“When I first came to India, there were a few ladies of the old school still much looked up to in Calcutta, and among the rest the grandmother of the Earl of Liverpool, the old Begum Johnson, then between seventy and eighty years of age. All these old ladies prided themselves upon keeping up old usages. They used to dine in the afternoon at four or five o'clock—take their airing after dinner in their carriages; and from the time they returned till ten at night, their houses were lit up in their best style, and thrown open for the reception of visitors. All who were on visiting terms came at this time, with any strangers whom they wished to introduce, and enjoyed each other's society; there were music and dancing for the young, and cards for the old, when the party assembled happened to be large enough; and a few who had been previously invited, stayed to supper. I often visited the old Begum Johnson at this hour, and met at her house the first people in the country, for all people, including the Governor-General himself, delighted to honor this old lady, the widow of a Governor-General of India, and the mother-in-law of a prime minister of England.

An Eccentric Character

Here is a humorous description of an eccentric character who was known at Penang in 1824:—" Captain—— held an official position there, an excellent-hearted but most eccentric old man, who never could remain quiet two consecutive minutes. He was noted for this, and was a source of great amusement to the young officers then stationed on the island.

His greatest constitutional failing was inquisitiveness, a curiously not to meddle with other people's affairs and secrets, but to see everything that was going on in open day-light, and to miss none that might chance to pass him with whom he might exchange a word or a nod ; for the gratification of this passion he had invented a revolving seat like a music stool, in the centre of his palankeen carriage.

Wheeling rapidly round and round on this, as his carriage went from place to place, he kept continually bowing and chattering to those that passed, to the infinite delight of a parcel of raw ensigns, who occupied their hours in scampering after him on their Acheen ponies from noon till nightfall.

Another singular propensity the old gentleman possessed was that of finding out what every one in the place intended to have for dinner : and for this express purpose, turning out early of a morning, he used to waylay the cooks and native servants as they returned from market of a morning, and pry into the contents of each basket, giving utterance to his extreme satisfaction at the appearance of some favourite joint or vegetable, by frequent repetition of the Hindostanee words *bhot atcha* (very good), and then walk off whistling, in search of the next comer.

Many who have been in the Straits may remember the strange but kind old man, for he was a prince in regard to hospitality, and his prying into other people's kitchen affairs secured only an incentive to his kindly meant invitations."

Young Bengal in 1780

Mrs. Kindersley remarked in 1767, "neither Mahomedans nor Hindoos ever change in their dress, furniture, carriages or any other things."

Her remarks are not applicable to the natives of later times, who have altered considerably both in their dress and their mode of life. "Young Bengal," with his chop house, champagne tiffins, and his lecture clubs, did not exist then, but a person, of such a character appeared, it is stated, in 1780 :—"The attachment of the natives of Bengal to the English laws begins now to extend itself to English habiliment. Rajah Ramloohun, a very opulent Gentoo, of high caste and family lately paid a visit to a very eminent attorney, equipped in boots, buckskin breeches, hunting frock, and Jockey cap.

The lawyer, who was employed for the improvement of the revenues of Bengal, was in great astonishment at the lively transformation of his grave Gentoo client, who, it seems was dressed in the exact hunting character of Lord March, and had borrowed the fancy from one of Dardy's comic prints. The Nabob Sidert Alley, when lately at the Presidency, employed Connor, the tailor, to make him the following dresses, viz., two suits of of regimentals, ditto of an English admiral's uniform, and two suits of canonicals.

At the same time he sent for an English peruke maker, and gave him orders to make him two wigs of every denomination according to the English fashion, viz., scratches, cut wigs, and curled obba, queues, majors, and Ramilies ; all of which he took with him when he left Calcutta."

Funeral of Hindoo Rao

Maharaja Hindoo Rao, a Mahratta Chief, lived in Delhi, and was noted for his hospitality and expensive entertainments. His house was on a ridge of small hills immediately overlooking Delhi, which was during the mutiny made famous as the position of one our batteries. Hindoo Rao died in 1854. His funeral is thus described by Mr. Lang :—"They dressed up the old gentleman's corpse in his most magnificent costume, covered his arms with jeweled bracelets of gold, with costly necklaces of pearls and diamonds hanging down to his waist, placed him in a chair of state, sat him bolt upright—just as he used to sit when alive—and thus, attended by his relations, friends and suite,

he was carried through Delhi to the banks of the Jumna where the body was burnt with the usual rites and the ashes thrown into the river."

John Farquhar

A little above Muncerampore are the Powder Works at Ishapore, formerly under the superintendence of John Farquhar, who contrived to amass the colossal fortune, as it was said, of eighty lakhs of rupees. It is an act of justice to his memory to state, that the whole of this sum was not accumulated from the perquisites, fair or unfair, of his official post ; a considerable proportion of it was the result of the unrivalled parsimony of this prince of Indian misers, who contracted with the solitary servant of his house to supply his table for two annas a day ! On his return to England, he is said to have offered to endow one of the Scottish universities with £1000,000, to establish a professorship of atheism, but the offer was of course rejected.

John Shipp

The history of John Shipp is one of the most remarkable on record for the marvellous escapes he had during his service, He was the leader of almost every "forlorn hope," and though often left for dead on the field seemed to have a magic life. We will here give only one instance of his "foolhardiness" some would call it, but we would rather say his fearlessness.

The 87th Regiment seems to have formed the advance guard of the division which penetrated the supposed impracticable defiles which led to the enemy's strong fort of Muckwanpore, and was often in action. When near Muckwanpore, the following incident took place :—"Two of our men were brought before the commanding officer, for having gone beyond the outlying piquet. The fact was, that these impudent fellows had been upon the hill, where the piquet had been unarmed. After admonishing them for their imprudence and disobedience of orders, the commanding officer asked one of them what he saw ; he replied, "Nothing at all, your honor, but a great big piquet ; and sure they were not there, but all gone." He added, that.

"all their fires were alight, because he saw them burning."

"And what did you see on the other side of this first hill?" asked the colonel, trying to smother a laugh.

"Nothing at all, your honour."

"Are there hills or valleys on the other side?"

"Neither, your honor; only a mighty big mountain, as big as the hill of Howth."

"Did you see any men?"

"Divil a one, your honor, except one poor old woman in one of the huts, and she was after going when she saw me and Pat Logan coming near her."

"What took you there?"

"Faith? we both went to take a big walk, for we were quite tired doing nothing—that's all, your honor; so I hope no offence."

Sir John Malcolm's Facetiousness

Lieutenant Shipp in his memoirs tells us the following anecdote of Sir John Malcolm:—

"I should recommend all people subject to liver complaints to pay Sir John a visit, if opportunity favours them, and I would wager ten to one that, in one month, he would laugh most of them out of their complaints. I was myself suffering under a violent attack when I was his guest, and the smallest emotion, more particularly that caused by laughter, was attended with most excruciating pain; but our host could almost make a dead man laugh. The consequence was that I laughed to some purpose, for I actually got rid of my complaint. Sir John generally made it a point of getting me close to him. He said to me one morning, "Shipp, did I ever tell you the story of my being invited to breakfast off a dead colonel?"

I answered, "No Sir John; nor are my poor sides in a state to hear it."

"Oh, but I must tell you; it's rather a serious story than otherwise."

Finding there was no escape, I put both my hands to my sides (a necessary precaution to prevent them from bursting), and listened attentively.

Sir John had a peculiar manner of relating anecdotes,

which, for effect, I have never seen equalled, and a sort of squeaking voice, in which he generally spoke, especially when pleased, added greatly to the drollery of his stories. "I was invited to breakfast," said Sir John, "with a queer old colonel of the Bombay Artillery. This colonel was famous for giving good breakfast, so I accepted his invitation, and went to his residence rather early, where I walked without ceremony into the breakfast room. It is customary in India, when breakfast things are laid, to throw a table cloth over the whole, to keep the flies off. I thought it strange that I did not see a single servant ; but I walked up and down the room very contentedly, for nearly a quarter of an hour. At last I got quite hungry, so I thought I would help myself to a biscuit. For this purpose, I lifted end of the cloth, and the first object that met my eye, was—the colonel's head ?"

Just at that instant Sir John Malcolm struck me a violent blow on the shoulders, which so startled me, that I really thought the dead colonel was on my back. From that time, however, I lost all symptoms of the liver complaint."

Tiger Wood

Sir George was known in India as Tiger Wood, not from being a great tiger shooter, but from his savage disposition. He went home with thirty lakhs, for he always said he was determined to have more than Sir Mark. But although Sir George Wood was determined to make a large fortune in India, he is known to have acted on many occasions with great liberality ; for instance, when a meeting took place in Calcutta for the purpose of raising a subscription for Warren Hastings, who was being prosecuted at the time, and the people present at the meeting seemed to hesitate as to what sums they should put down opposite their names, Colonel Wood exclaimed, "Give that paper to me," and then added—"There I have put down my name for £10,000, and if more is required I will give another £10,000." Few men, even with Sir George's fortune would have acted so noble a part, but on all occasions his conduct was the same : and though a great martinet he was not what most of these class of officers are—"a contemptible bully."

On one occasion he had severely reprimanded the surgeon of his regiment, (Dr. Woolley of the Invalids), and upon hearing that the Dr. said he only took advantage of his position to insult him, Colonel Wood sent word to the Dr. that he would give him satisfaction if he wanted it ; upon which the Dr called him out, and when on the ground Colonel Wood told him to fire first. He did so but missing his commanding officer, Colonel Wood then called to him, saying "Now, Sir, where will you have it ?" the Dr. out of derision put his hand on his seat of honor ; "take it there," said Colonel Wood, and immediately put a ball into his head's antipodes, as the part is called by George Coleman the younger.

Lieutenant-General Cleiland

Of many anecdotes of his early service, only known to his old friends, one will suffice to illustrate his character. At the last attempt to storm Bhurtpoor, by Lord Lake, on 21st February, 1805, it is well known that the retreat, as ordered, soon became a hasty rush, where all were intermingled in striving to reach the trenches, while sixty pieces of well served heavy guns were playing on the retiring mass. All ran, though many were there who never ran from shot before or since. Amongst the rest, a fine, active Grenadier, a private of Her Majesty's 65th Regiment, passed Lieutenant Cleiland, but was knocked down, his leg broken by a cannon-ball. He called piteously to be carried to the trenches, then so near: but galled by the tremendous fire, all passed on regardless of everything in their eagerness to gain the cover.

When Lieutenant Cleiland got there, the poor fellow's cry, though no longer heard, seemed still sounding in his ears. He determined to try and save him. Rushing from the trenches he lifted him on his back, and staggering under the load, the shot ploughing the ground on each side, he heroically bore him to the place of safety amid the shouts of the spectators.

Thomas Corvat

The "Odcombian leg-stretcher", as he used to call himself, was the first European traveller who ever came out to India on a tour of pleasure.

On the death of his father in 1606, he felt himself at liberty to gratify a "very burning desire", which he said had long "itched in him, to survey and contemplate some of the choicest parts of this goodly fabric of the world." So in May 1608, he left Dover, and travelled through France, and as far as Venice, returning by way of Germany, with very little money in his pocket. During the five months he was absent, he travelled 1,977 miles, of which he had walked 900, and the same pair of shoes lasted throughout the journey. He hung these shoes up in Odcombe Church for a memorial and they remained there till 1702.

He published his travels in a bulk quarto volume on his return, under the strange title of "Corvat's Crudities, hastily gobbled up in 5 months' travels in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia, commonly called the Grison's country, Helvetia *alias* Switzerland, some parts of High Germany, and the Netherlands; newly digested in the hungry air of Odcombe in the country of Somerset and now dispersed to the nourishment of the travelling members of this kingdom."

The year following the publication of the "Crudities", 1612, he departed on a more extended journey. He visited Constantinople, where he made a brief stay, went over various parts of Greece, and was much delighted in exploring the vestiges of Troy. He then went to Jerusalem, and visited all the sacred historic localities in Palestine. Thence he went to Alleppo, and so through Persia to Agra, the seat of the Mogul's court, "spending", he says, in his journey betwixt Jerusalem and the Mogul's court," fifteen months and odd days all of which I traversed afoot, the total distance being 2,700 English miles, and expended only three pounds sterling yet fared reasonably well every way."

Louis Bonnaud

This gentleman came out to Bengal in 1779 or thereabouts, and was the first person who started an indigo factory. Soon after his arrival he took the lease of a "garden", at Taldanga, in the Hooghly district, and built there a small indigo factory. This place is situated to the north of Chandernagore. Here, however, he found that no great quantity of land could be obtained, and it being inconveni-

ently far from the river, he leased a large "garden", at Gondolpara on the bank of the Hooghly, near Telinipara, to the south of Chandernagore, where he built a pair of small vats and a press house. From Chandernagore Monsieur Bonnaud appears to have proceeded to the Maldah district, where he in connection with three wealthy Englishmen, one of whom was named Adams, built an indigo factory, and as lime was a scarce article in that locality they exhumed human skeletons from a neighbouring Mahomedan graveyard and converted them into that necessary material. While residing in his garden house at Hazinagore, in Chandernagore, on the *Rue de Paris*, he established a large canvas and twine factory, which flourished for some time but unfortunately it was at last burnt down, by which the owner suffered considerable loss.

Colonel Martinez

In one of those old books of Indian memoirs, which are generally instructive and always entertaining, we find the following account of a certain Colonel Martinez, who at the close of the last century was in the service of the "Nabob" of Arcot, as he was called. "Of all the hospitable men in the most hospitable country in the world", says the author from whom we quote, "this extraordinary old gentleman stood foremost.

He had a large, well appointed house, and received with a hearty welcome as his guests all who chose to come to it. He had a cellar or godown full of the choicest liquors, and amongst the rest, pipes of madeira of various ages, strung by ropes from the roof, to which he decreed a 'Europe voyage', as he called it, every time that the door was opened, by making a servant swing them about for some minutes. His wine paid no duty, and was seldom bottled, but was drawn for immediate use. He was a man of few words and directed his servants by snapping his fingers, or by whistling.

Rev. George Crawford

While George Crawford was chaplain at Allahabad, about 1830, the sepoy of the Native Infantry were in the

habit when on duty in the fort, of coming uninvited to Mr. Crawford's quarters, and asking him to come and tell them about the Christian religion. Their invitation was accepted, and Mr. Crawford, and his catechist, found on entering the lines, a space decently cleared, with two chairs placed for them, and actually a desk for their books. Mr. Crawford and his catechist took their seats, and proceeded to explain the English Church catechism to the listening crowd of sepoys.

While thus engaged, a shadow fell over the circle, and looking up, they saw an elephant passing, on which sat two officers, whose looks betokened no good will to what was going on. But the minister went on with his class. Presently, however, a murmur arose that the commanding officer was coming; and as the sepoys fell back, the chaplain found himself confronted by the major, evidently greatly excited. The chaplain rose from his chair, and the following conversation ensued :—

Major—What is this, Mr. Crawford ?

Chaplain—What do you mean, Sir ?

Major—Why, Sir, I mean, that you are preaching to the sepoys. You are exciting my men to insubordination. You will cause an insurrection, Sir, and we shall all be murdered at midnight.

Chaplain—The sepoys invited me to come, and I am here by their desire.

Major—That *must* be false !

Chaplain—Ask the sepoys yourself, Sir.

The assembly was then dispersed. But next day, General Marley, who commanded the division, sent for Mr. Crawford. The General was a kind man and was believed to have no objection to what had been done, but yielding to the argument of Major———, he reproved Mr. Crawford, and repeated the very expression of the major that the officers would be all murdered in their beds some night if this went on. A reference was then made to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, on the subject. It was understood that Lord William's own judgment was overborne by the advisers around him, but be that as it may, orders were conveyed through Archdeacon Corrie to Mr.

Crawfurd, that he was not to visit the sepoys in their lines again. Mr. Crawfurd said to the General, "What if the sepoys visit me at my house?" General Marley did not believe they would, and said laughingly, that he was welcome to preach to all who came to him there. The sepoys did come to Mr. Crawfurd in the fort, as before; and Mr. C. preached to them. The instruction resulted in several sepoys becoming candidates for baptism. Mr. Crawfurd, after what had happened, thought it right to ask the Archdeacon for leave to baptise them; and the Archdeacon, after again taking the Governor-General's orders, replied that he was deeply grieved indeed to be placed in such a position, but must prohibit his baptising the sepoy candidates! These proceedings were followed by the issue of orders to all chaplains, that they were not to speak at all to the native soldiery on the subject of religion.

A Veteran Madras Doctor

Dr. Thomas Key entered the local service while the nineteenth century was still young, and died an octogenarian. He was to the last a hale and hearty specimen of the good old school of Indian doctors. Raised in Edinburgh, he was nothing if he was not, before all things a Scot. He died as he had lived, a confirmed bachelor. Possessed of a pension of some £600 to £700 a year and an annuity £400 besides from the Medical Fund, he was "passing rich" in "Modern Athens," which he regarded as the best of all possible towns for a man who had done his work to spend his declining years in. He knew that he had an incurable predisposition to heart disease, and he warned his servants that one day he might be brought home dead. But "pallida mors" often passed him by, and he outlived most of his service contemporaries. At length, however, the day that he had predicted dawned. It was Sunday, the 11th January, 1880. He rose as usual, and, in accordance with his long habit, he walked from his house to attend morning service at St. John's Church. He arrived at his destination, took his seat, and a few seconds afterwards his head was observed to droop, as if he was dozing or fainting. Assistance was immediately rendered, but it was too late, for the

thread of life had been snapped, and he had died without a pang.

Begum Sumroo and Lord Lake

At the age of fifty or thereabouts, the Begum Sumroo was a lady of mark; she had money, influence and considerable territories. When Lord Lake was driving Scindia and the French battalions out of the North-West Provinces, he was anxious to gain over the Begum to the British cause. One day after he had dined in the style which prevailed in the beginning of the century, he was told that the Begum had come to visit him. He rushed out, flushed with wine, forgot all the proprieties, and kissed the Begum on the spot. Horror and dismay sat upon the countenances of the Begum's followers. It must have been a strange sight for European officers to see an English General over sixty suddenly kiss a fat native woman of fifty.

But the sight was a greater shock to the orientals than it would have been to Mr. Bumble the Beadle. The Begum, however, pulled the General through. She had great presence of mind. Moreover she had been converted to Christianity, and possibly had her own notions about kissing. "It is", said she, "the salute of a *padree* (priest) to his daughter." The native mind quieted down, but Lord Lake's kiss was famous for half a century.

Mrs. Carey

Mrs. Carey, one of the few survivors of the imprisonment in the Black Hole, died at Calcutta on the 28th March, 1801. The following interesting notes regarding her are from a fly leaf at the end of one of Holwell's Tracts: *August 13, 1799*—"This forenoon between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock, visited by appointment, in company with Mr. Charles Child, at her house in Calcutta, situated in an angle at the head of the Portuguese Church Street, and east of the church, Mrs. Carey, the last survivor of those unfortunate persons who were imprisoned in the Black Hole at Calcutta, on the capture of that place in 1756 by Seraj-ud-Dowla. This lady, now fifty-eight years of age, as she herself told me, is of a size rather above the common stature; and very well proportioned: of a fair Mesticia colour, with

correct regular features, which give evident marks of beauty which must once have attracted admiration. She confirmed all which Mr. Holwell had said on the subject of the Black Hole in his letters, and added that besides her husband, her mother, Mrs. Eleanor Watson (her name by second marriage), and her sister, aged about ten years, had also perished therein, and that other women, the wives of soldiers, and children, had shared a like fate there."

General's Daughter

General, Avitabile, a Frenchman who resided so many years at Lahore, had a daughter (the child of some favourite beauty in his harem) on whom he doted. He brought her up and watched over her, with jealous care, in a cloisterlike building, which till some years back might be seen in the garden of the general's house. Here she spent the years of her youth and grew up a lovely girl. So carefully was all access to her guarded, that even her meals, were conveyed to her from without by means of a *tour*, such as are used at convent gates.—The very shadow of a man had never crossed the threshold of her retreat. And for what high and romantic destiny does the reader think this fair recluse was reserved? Alas for facts—Avitabile married her to his *cook*, a young Mahomedan, to whom he also gave with her a large dowry of money, jewels and precious stones!

Henry Vansittart

On the 7th October, 1786, died after a few days' illness, Henry Vansittart, Esq., universally beloved, admired and lamented.

"In him the Company have lost a faithful and most able servant, to whose integrity and indefatigable assiduity they are principally indebted for the success which has attended Mr. Hastings' plan for the manufacture of salt, whereby the revenues have been increased to 50 lakhs of rupees per annum. The natives, who were placed under his orders and protection, looked up to him as their common father, and always found him ready to hear their complaints, accommodate their differences, and redress their

wrongs. His domestic virtues were such as might be expected from his public character : a dutiful son, an affectionate husband, a fond parent and a sure and active friend.

With an intimate knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics, he possessed an elegant taste for oriental writings, and was eminently learned in the Arabic and Persian languages. He translated several poems from the Arabic, and, from the Persian, the history of the first ten years of Alumgeer; and had he been spared to the world some time longer, we might have expected from him a complete and authentic history of that interesting reign, with other useful works. He was one of the brightest ornaments of the Asiatic Society, and some of his valuable tracts, we understand, are to be published amongst their transactions."

Madame Grand

This lady, was the daughter of M. Werlee, Capitaine du Port, and Chevalier de Saint Louis. She was married to M. Grand before she had attained her sixteenth year, and in rather less than twelve months of her marriage had formed a warm friendship for Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis. The husband brought an action against Francis in the Supreme Court, and on the 6th May, 1776, obtained a verdict against him with Rs. 50,000 damages. The judges were Sir Elijah Impey, Sir Edward Hyde and Sir Robert Chambers. It is said that Hyde wished to fix the damages at a lakh of rupees, Chambers thought that no damages should be given, but ultimately named Rs. 30,000. Impey took a middle course, and fixed Rs. 50,000. As he was declaring the verdict Hyde interrupted him by calling out, "*siccas*, brother Impey; *siccas* !" The damages were accordingly assessed at 50,000 sicca rupees.

After the discovery of her *liaison*, Madame Grand went to Hooghly, and lived there for some time under Francis's protection. She then sailed for England, and there met Talleyrand, whom she accompanied to Paris. In July 1802, a Papal Bull having absolved Talleyrand from his priestly vows, he married her. Shortly after Waterloo they separated, and she revisited England for a short time, and then returned to Paris, where she died in December, 1835.

The Two Brothers Skinner

The following traits of character in the two brothers Skinner, are given by Miss Eden in her work "Up the Country" :—"Delhi, Feb. 20—Yesterday we went to the church built by Colonel Skinner. He is a native of the country, and talks broken English. He has had a regiment of Irregular Horse for the last forty years, and has done all sorts of gallant things; had seven horses killed under him and been wounded in proportion; has made several fortunes and lost them; has built himself several fine houses, and has his zenana and heaps of sons like any other native. He built this church, which is a very curious building and very magnificent—in some respects; and within sight of it there is a mosque which he has also built because he said that one way or the other he should be sure to go to heaven. His Protestant Church has a dome in the mosque fashion, and I was quite afraid that with the best disposition to attend to Mr. Y., little visions of Mahomet would be creeping in. Skinner's brother, Major Robert Skinner, was the same sort of melodramatic character, and made a tragic end. He suspected one of his wives of a slight *ecart* from the part of propriety—very unjustly it is said—but he called her and all his servants together, cut off the heads of every individual in his household, and then shot himself. His soldiers bought every article of his property at ten times its value, that they might possess relics of a man who had shown, they said, such a quick sense of honor." (1839).

Sir Herbert Edwardes

It is well known that Herbert Edwardes when a lieutenant, first attracted attention by some very severe articles on the doings of the Government, and signed "Brahminee Bull", which were published in the *Delhi Gazette*. With mingled generosity and shrewdness Lord Hardinge gave young Edwardes an appointment. A great dinner party was given by Lord Hardinge after his entry into Lahore, at which Edwardes was present, and on which occasion the appointment was being much canvassed by the guests. At the table the present Commander-in-Chief at Bombay (1882), Lord Hardinge, then a lieutenant serving on his

father's staff, took advantage of a lull in the conversation, and asked Edwardes to drink a glass of wine. All eyes were turned upon the youthful hero. Sir C. Napier scanned him curiously, when Arthur Hardinge said, bowing to Edwardes, "Your good health; I suppose you will *not* write any more Brahminee Bull articles now?" There was a roar of laughter, for that was exactly what every body was thinking. No one was more amused than the Governor-General, who evidently thoroughly appreciated the joke.

Mons. Raymond

Mons. Raymond died about the 15th March, 1798, at Hyderabad. This officer, who had by his talent and enterprise elevated himself to a higher rank and fortune than had ever before been attained by any European in the same profession, was a frenchman, and had served under Lally in Mysore. About 1789 he entered the service of Nizam Ally Khan, of Hyderabad, by whom he was engaged to raise a corps of 500 men, and with these men, increased to 700, he shared with the troops of the Nizam in the war with Tippoo, and greatly distinguished himself. He afterwards commanded a corps of 5000 men, and when the Nizam's son Aly Jah, rose in rebellion against his father, Raymond was sent to reduce the prince. The effectual manner in which he performed this duty raised him to the eminence he latterly attained. He now raised his army to 15,000 men, besides artillery and cavalry, and to pay these troops a jaghire was assigned to him. He lived with the magnificence of a prince, and was beloved by all. He was succeeded in his military command by Mons. Perron.

Sir Thomas Rumbold

Sir Thomas Rumbold, formerly Governor of Madras, is said to have been a waiter, or boots, at Arthur's Club in London. The following throws some light on the origin of the story which used to be told about the old "Nabob" Governor of Madras, who, however could not have been a bad sort of fellow, considering that Robert Clive thought him worthy of being his Aide-de-Camp at the memorable battle of Plassey. Sir Thomas Rumbold was so vilified

and misrepresented in his day, that about twenty years ago one of his daughters, then an elderly lady, published an interesting work entitled "The Vindication of Sir Thomas Rumbold."

Hadjee Mustapha

An eccentric character passed away in August 1791, at Calcapore. His name was Hadjee Mustapha, and native of France; many years previous he had become a proselyte to the Mahomedan faith, had made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and had ever since continued in the observance of the ceremonies of the Mussalman religion. He was possessed of considerable literary talents, and some time before his death published an English translation of Seid Gholam Hossein Khan's Persian History of India.

Charles Schmaltze, the inventor of the Flute

"At Calcutta, on the 28th October, 1799, Mr. Charles Schmaltze, a gentleman in whom the arts and sciences have to deplore the loss of one of their brightest ornaments, his family, his friends and society in general of a man whose virtues and amiable qualities will ever be deeply engraved on their hearts. Mr. Schmaltze's skill in chemistry induced the Academy of Sciences of Paris, of which he was a member, to request of him an analysis of the mineral waters of the Isles of France and of Bourbon, as well as to investigate the subject of mineralogy in general, in that part of the world. He was not only deeply versed in the principles of mathematics and mechanics, but displayed uncommon ingenuity in the application of them to engineering, gunnery and various other branches. Nor did these severe studies so much engross his mind as to make him neglect the cultivation of those which more particularly serve to embellish and enliven society. His taste in music was acknowledged by the best judges, and hardly was there an instrument that he did not touch with the hand of a master, but his exquisite performance on the flute (of which instrument he was the inventor) will be long remembered by all who were present at the oratorio performed last year for the benefit of the children of the Free School. Mr. S.

devoted that latter part of a life, which had been uniformly spent in the exercise of superior talents to useful purposes, to the invention of a composition by which he proposed to supersede the use of the graving tool on metals, by producing the same effect but with greater precision and which, had the invention received the finishing stroke of the author's hand, would probably have carried the art of engraving on copper, and cutting letters, to the last degree of perfection."—*Calcutta Gazette*.

Sir Charles Napier

Sir Charles was married to a lady of strong though gentle character, and he delighted in relating an adventure which once befell the pair, very characteristic of both. He and Lady Napier were riding one evening, unattended, on the summit of the Mahableschwur Hills. The sun had just set, the pathway was narrow, bordered on one side by jungle and on the other by a deep precipice. Turning suddenly to his wife, he desired her to ride on at full speed immediately to the nearest village, and send some people back to the spot where she left him, and not to ask him the reason why he sent her. She obeyed in silence. It was no slight trial of her courage as well as of her obedience, for the way was lonely and beset with many possible perils, but she rode rapidly and boldly forward and gained a village at some distance in safety.

The party whom she then despatched and accompanied, met Sir Charles, however, about a mile from the place, following in his lady's track; and he then explained the reason of his strange and unquestionable command. He had seen, as they slowly walked their horses, four savage eyes gleam at him from the jungle, and believed that they belonged either to tigers or cheetahs, the hunting leopards. He was aware, that if they both rode off, the creatures, following the instinct of their nature, would be sure to chase them. He feared lest, if Lady Napier knew the fearful kind of peril they were in, she would be startled, and unfit to make any attempt at escape, or at least that she would not consent to his own judicious plan; so he tested her obedience, as we have seen successfully.

He remained himself, confronting, and probably controlling the wild beasts with his eagle eye ; for, after a short gaze and a muttered growl, they retreated into the jungle, and he was free to follow his wife.

The General was alike feared and adored by the natives. He understood their character, and they were dazzled by his splendid soldierly qualities.

We have often found, when speaking to them of the hero of Scinde, that there was some strange connexion in their minds between him and the comet or nebulous light, which, as they asserted, predicted the fall of the Ameers. Nay, we have heard it asserted that the Scindians looked on our General as a sort of incarnation of Zatanoi, and that the fear inspired by his laconic proclamation—"Beloo-chees ! I am coming up with 10,000 men to drive all to the devil !"—greatly assisted the might of his arms.

We have heard an incident related which tends to prove the effect this Spartan-like abruptness and known resolution had on the Eastern enemy whilst Sir Charles was in Scinde. A fort was held by a formidable and desperate robber, and the General, who could ill spare the time required to reduce it, ordered a young officer of his army to go, totally unarmed, into the hold of the chieftain, and deliver the following message :—"Come out to me, or, by——, I will come and fetch you !" The summons was instantly obeyed, as if Eblis himself had pronounced it, and the fort was surrendered to the English.

Lord Clive

After his arrival at Madras, there are some anecdotes tending to prove that he was ill suited to the condition of life in which he was placed. His impatience of control and wayward and impracticable firmness never forsook him. On one occasion it appears that his conduct to the Secretary under whom the writers were placed on their arrival, was so inconsistent with the rules of official discipline, that the Governor, to whom it was reported, commanded him to ask that gentleman's pardon. With this order he complied rather ungraciously ; but, the Secretary immediately after before his irritation had time

to subside, having invited him to dinner,—“No, Sir,” replied Clive, “the Governor did not command me to *dine* with you.” He is stated to have hazarded on more than one occasion, the loss of the service by acts of wildness, and a story was long current that, either in a fit of despair, or of low spirits, to which he was subject from his earliest years, he made, at this period, an attempt upon his own life. A companion, coming into his room in Writer’s Buildings was requested to take up a pistol and fire it out of the window ; he did so.

Clive, who was sitting in a very gloomy mood, sprang up, and exclaimed—“Well, I am reserved for something ! That pistol,” said he to his astonished friend, “I have twice snapped at my own head.”

This is not unlikely to be true, nor is its probability contradicted by his never having spoken of it to any of his family after his return to England.

General George Thomas and his Eastern City

Mr. Thomas in the year 1797 fought four successive actions against the Sikhs, in which the latter lost twice as many men as the former. An advantageous treaty was afterwards entered into between the belligerents. It was about the middle of 1798, that our hero first formed the eccentric and arduous design of erecting an independant principality for himself. He laid siege to and took the fort of Hurrianah and several other strongholds, and for his capital he selected the town of Hansi. “Here” says Mr. Thomas, with that energy and spirited animation, which distinguished him throughout the scenes of his extraordinary life, “I established my capital, rebuilt the walls of the city, long since fallen into decay, and repaired the fortifications. As it had been long deserted, at first I found difficulty in procuring inhabitants, but by degrees and gentle treatment, I selected between five and six thousand persons, to whom I allowed every lawful indulgence. I established a mint, and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country ; as from the commencement of my career at Jyjur, I had resolved to establish an independency, I employed workmen and

artificers of all kinds, and I now judged that nothing but force of arms could maintain me in my authority. I therefore increased their numbers, cast my own artillery, commenced making musquets, matchlocks and powder, and in short, made the best preparations for carrying on an offensive and defensive war, till at length having gained a capital and country bordering on the Sikh territories, I wished to put myself in a capacity, when a favourable opportunity should offer, of attempting the conquest of the Punjab, and aspired to the honour of planting the British standard on the banks of the Attock."

Lord Clive's Moderation

Having placed Meer Jaffier on the musnud at Moorshedabad, and entered into solemn engagements with him for a strict union and mutual support, Clive returned to Calcutta on urgent public and private duties. The wealth he acquired from this revolution excited envy at the moment, and became afterwards a subject of reproach and even of accusation. The illiberal charges are best answered in the following emphatic observation of Clive himself when personally accused at the committee meeting in Calcutta, of having received upwards of 100,000*l.* soon after the battle of Plassey—"If any gentleman," said Clive, "had privately asked me if that charge was true, I should have frankly acknowledged to him, that I had received a larger sum; but when I recollect the Nawab's treasury at Moorshedabad, with heaps of gold and silver to the right and left; and these crowned with jewels," striking his hand violently on his head, "*by God, at this moment, do I stand astonished at my own moderation.*"

CHAPTER XVIII

ROBBERIES AND DACOITY

THE *Calcutta Chronicle* of February 19, 1789, relates, with strong expressions of disapprobation, an instance of the punishment of a gang of dacoits found guilty of burglary at a place near Kishnaghur, and sent by Francis Redfearn, Esq., to be tried at the Criminal Court at Sulkea, on the western bank of the river, opposite to Calcutta :—

“At 1 o’clock, on Sunday, February 15th, the fourteen criminals were brought out to undergo the sentence passed upon them, to the Sair Bazar, a little to the southward of the Orphan House. The horrible scene is thus described : One of the dacoits was extended upon his back, with a fillet or band covering his mouth, and tied at the back of his head, to prevent his cries being heard by the others, who were witnesses of the fate they were themselves to experience. He was then pinioned to the ground with only his right hand and left leg at liberty. This done, the operator began to amputate the hand. It was performed with an instrument like a carving knife, not at a stroke, but by cutting and hacking round about the wrist, to find out the joint ; and in about three minutes the hand was off. The same mode was observed in amputating the foot at the ankle joint. Both operations took up together from six to eight minutes in performing. After the hand and foot were off, the extremities of the wounded parts were dipped in boiling ghee ; and then he was left to his fate. The other thirteen were served in the same manner ; yet, what will appear very strange, not one of them expired under the severity of the operation. The hands and feet of the criminals were thrown into the river. Four of the men have since died, but more from the influence of the sun on the wounded parts, and through want of care, than from the more than savage cruelty of the operation.”

• In April 1790, the same punishment was inflicted upon an incendiary at Moorshedabad. It was a Mohamadan

penalty, and was resorted to in the case of the dacoits, in the hope of striking terror into the hearts of the numerous robbers who were devastating the country in so many districts, and producing everywhere so much alarm. It is hoped and believed that the above were the only instances in which so ferocious a punishment was administered under British authority. In 1793, a Regulation of Government made it illegal to inflict mutilation, and prescribed imprisonment in lieu of it.

Mr. G. C. Meyer, Superintendent of Police, under date the 2nd November 1791, issued the following notice :—
“Whereas a robbery was committed on Tuesday night, the 1st instant, on the Chowringhy Road, by three Europeans, supposed to be sailors, who made their escape with a gold watch, capped and jewelled, the maker’s name John Holmes, London, and a gold chain and seal engraved with a lion rampant,—whoever will produce the said watch, chain and seal, and give information of the offenders, so that they may be apprehended and convicted, shall receive a reward of four hundred rupees.”

Murders and robberies were of very frequent occurrence in the heart of the city ; and, in the suburbs, armed gangs of these marauders sometimes boldly paraded the highways by torch-light. Within the city, where offences against life and property were perpetrated more cautiously, craft took the place of effrontery. The single thief committed his nightly depredations, having his naked body smeared over with oil, so that it was next to impossible to hold him. *Hicky’s Gazette* recommended that a long bamboo with a triple iron hook at the end of it, should be kept in readiness for detaining such visitors. In November 1788, two Bengali policemen were apprehended in an attempt to rob the house of a wealthy native, in a very different style ; “they had disguised themselves in the dress of Portuguese, with their hair curled, frizzed, and powdered, cocked hats, and very smart coats, stockings, &c.”

River dacoity seems to have been carried on fearlessly. The dacoits infested the Sunderbunds, and the river leading to and from Dacca. We hear of them coming in bands of seven, fourteen and twenty-four boats, and attacking Euro-

peans as well as natives, and stripping them of their goods, and when opposed adding murder to their misdeeds. Mr. Burgh, on his way to Calcutta, was killed and thrown into the river on the 3rd November 1788 ; two European gentlemen proceeding towards Dacca, were the next day attacked and left even without their clothes ; and on that evening Mr. Willes, proceeding from Sylhet, fell in with the same party, and though he escaped into the jungle, his boats were plundered. These are but a few of the robberies committed. A list of some dozen is given in the *Gazette*. Mr. Henckell, the Magistrate at Jessore, and Mr. Ewart, the Salt Agent at Jynagur, were obliged to resort to severe measures, to put down these daring pirates. Thirty-three persons were apprehended, who were supposed to have been concerned in the above robberies, and severe punishment inflicted on the robbers. This had the effect of putting down their daring depredations

There existed in the early part of the year 1795, a rather formidable gang of robbers, consisting of English, Portuguese, Italians and other foreigners, who had committed various burglaries in the houses of rich native merchants. A party of five Europeans and a Bengalee committed a burglary on the house of Choiton Seal in the China Bazar, on the night of the 18th February, and through one of the party, who had been engaged in this affair, turning king's evidence, the whole gang was captured and future depredations prevented. This must have been a formidable set of thieves, as in the evidence it came out that the whole gang was likely soon to number no less than two hundred individuals, and as soon as such a muster could be got, the Hindustan Bank was to have been attacked and plundered. At that time burglary was a capital crime, and on their being convicted these five Europeans and the Hindoo were sentenced to be hanged, which sentence was carried into execution "at the meeting of the four roads near the public office of the Justices of the Peace."

It would appear that it was anything but safe to be out late at night on the Maidan. We read in a paper of the 1st September 1791—"Last night about 10 o'clock, a very daring robbery was committed near the new Fort, on Mr. Masseyk,

who was in his palanqueen, by eight Europeans, supposed to be soldiers ; after wounding him severely, they took from him his shoe-buckles, and every valuable he had about him."

Several robberies were committed within the months of March and April 1795, on the Calcutta Esplanade, and the roads leading to and from Fort William, by Europeans disguised in various dresses, who were proved to be private soldiers from the garrison.

The *John Bull* tells us that while in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, the tent of the Governor of Madras, on his way to the Neilgherries, was "entered by thieves and robbed of the whole of its contents, not even excepting His Excellency's wearing apparel."

The Indian Robber

Robbers in India are remarkable for the dexterity with which they accomplish their schemes of plunder. They are certainly, in this particular, exceeded by those of no other nation in the world. They have been known to enter a bungalow and remove everything worth taking, leaving the party to whom it belonged and his wife upon the cane-work of the bedstead on which they slept, with no other covering except their night-clothes, and this without waking either. Achievements of this kind were matters of almost daily accomplishment by those dexterous marauders who infested the northern boundary of the Gangetic plain and many other parts of Hindostan. It was their custom to approach the tent or bungalow which they intended to rob, imitating, during their approach, the dismal howl of a pariah dog, or the cries of jackals, in order, should their approach be heard, to lull suspicion, as the proximity of either of those animals would of course excite no alarm. They usually advanced upon their bellies, made a slight incision at the bottom of the tent, through which they thrust their heads and, having made the requisite observations entered and secured their booty. Upon reaching a bungalow, if the wall were of mud, they soon perforated it, and if of brick, they undermined it with great skill and despatch, seldom failing to carry off everything valuable within, if once they could effect an entrance.

A captain of the Bengal Native Infantry, was proceeding from Delhi to the Himalaya Mountains, in the year 1827, when he was placed in a situation of much difficulty and equal danger by one of those contingencies to which travellers were, more or less, exposed in every part of India. The cries of jackals at night were among their most common annoyances, but they soon became so familiarized with these wild and discordant sounds that they ceased to regard them. They were frequently heard at a distance of several miles, and upon first entering the country a foreigner could obtain no rest from the incessant uproar made by those restless creatures, which, being gregarious, go in immense packs, positively infesting every region of the east.

The captain had pitched his tent in the neighbourhood of Hurdwar, a place eminently celebrated for its sanctity as a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, situated on the western side of the Ganges, where it issues into the plains of Bengal from the northern hills. This place of sacred concourse is a hundred and ten miles north-east from Delhi. "Fatigued with a long and harassing march the gallant officer had retired early to rest, having pitched his tent under a tope, or grove of trees, a short distance beyond the boundaries of the town, northward. Having placed his pistols, which were loaded with ball, under his pillow, and his sabre upon a chair by the side of his bed he addressed himself to sleep. As usual the nightly serenading of the jackals was heard, but he had been too well seasoned to such interruptions to be diverted from his repose. He was, however, rather struck by the fact of these creatures being much nearer the tent than it was usual with them to venture; still he was suffering too severely from fatigue to allow a circumstance so trifling to arrest his slumbers. Aware that he had nothing which could become the prey of jackals, he resigned himself to sleep in perfect security, and slept soundly for several hours. Towards morning he awoke greatly chilled and found himself lying upon the bed, to his utter amazement quite uncovered, without even a curtain to protect him from the mosquitoes which, during the night, had held carnival upon his body, particularly upon the soles of his feet, the palms of his hands, and his face, which were all stiff and

painful, besides being so swelled and irritated by the poison of those tormenting insects, that he could scarcely either walk or see. He immediately summoned his servants. The light suspended from the pole of his tent in a globe lamp had been extinguished ; they were consequently obliged to obtain a fresh light, which, after considerable delay, was procured.

"Upon examining the tent it appeared that the bed was entirely stripped, nothing remaining but the mattress and bedstead. The pistols and sword were missing. Everything of value had been carried off, nothing in fact being left but a few changes of wearing apparel and the tent furniture, which had no doubt been found by the robber too cumbersome to remove. This really was a grievous loss to the sufferer, from the difficulty existing in supplying the necessities of which he had been so unexpectedly deprived. It was quite impossible to proceed without certain essentials ; but how to obtain these was the question, as they are not usually found in Hindoo towns.

"The second day after the captain and his young companion had quitted Hurdwai, a native of the lowest caste came up with the bullock drivers, and entering into familiar conversation with them, joined the homely cavalcade. The captain happened at this time to be in the rear of his palankeen, on horseback, having set out some time after the bullocks which conveyed the baggage. He had suffered so severely from headache the previous night that he did not feel disposed to start so early as his followers. He observed the man join the bullock drivers, but as they seemed readily to enter into discourse with him as if he were an old comrade, there was nothing in this at all singular ; it therefore excited no suspicion, though our traveller was somewhat struck by the peculiarity of the man's air, and the inquisitive manner in which he appeared to survey every thing that arrested his attention.

"The officious stranger occasionally assisted in urging on the oxen, sluggish from over-fatigue and bad feeding, and once or twice forwardly aided the drivers in adjusting some portions of the baggage, which having become loose chafed the poor animals' backs. Still there was nothing in

his manner positively to excite suspicion, such being matters of very common occurrence on all the public routes through Hindoostan, the earnestness of the man's actions, however, might have indicated to a quick observer intentions not very evident to ordinary scrutiny. * * *

"The captain and his companion retired early to rest in the same tent, the one being feverish and wakeful, the other fatigued and sleepy. The former was excited and restless ; his thoughts reverting to the late robbery, kept him in a state of irritable excitement, and every sound that reached his ear caused him to apprehend the approach of an enemy.

"About an hour after midnight, the attention of the wakeful man was challenged by a noise, something like the baying of a hound ; he listened. It was singularly unnatural, though utterly remote from anything human. It approached perceptibly nearer, continued for an interval of several minutes, and then ceased altogether. What could this mean ? For some time all was still, nevertheless the eye of the traveller wandered cautiously and watchfully round the tent, as he now began to feel a painful apprehension of danger. The recent robbery made him the more suspicious ; still not choosing to provoke needless alarm, he determined patiently but guardedly to await the issue, which could not now be remote. A lamp suspended from a silken cord, attached to a bracket and pulley fixed in the pole of the tent, burned so brightly as to render everything clearly distinguishable. After a while he perceived the canvas on one side of the tent near the ground, gently stirred, as if by a gradual and cautious pressure, and almost immediately a black head was protruded through an incision made by a knife, the bright blade gleaming in the lamplight. The head was withdrawn for a few moments and again protruded. This was several times repeated, an interval of perhaps a minute intervening. None of the sleepers outside were disturbed ; that hard sonorous breathing which indicates profound slumber was heard within the tent. It was evident that none but the stranger was awake without.

"The captain could not longer entertain any doubts as to the intention of the villain, whose head he had seen

through the cleft canvas, still he was anxious to capture the robber ; he lay perfectly still, determined either to kill or secure the intruder, should he enter the tent for the purpose of plunder, which was clearly his intention. This was, more than probably, the same fellow who had plundered him a few days previously, and he was resolved, if possible, to visit him now with merited retribution. Again the head was protruded, when the captain distinctly recognised the features of the man who had joined the bullock drivers and so officiously forced his services upon them. He had a different turban bound tightly round his forehead, but the features were not to be mistaken. Once more the head was withdrawn. This cautious process had been repeated several times, until it was evidently presumed that the occupants of the tent were asleep, when the elder, who with tremulous anxiety had kept his eyes upon the spot from the first moment he had perceived the canvas move, saw the man, whose head had been protruded, slowly drag his body through the opening. He was perfectly naked, and armed only with a knife, pointed at the end and having a broad double-edged blade-like dagger. The intruder approached the couch on which the captain lay, he pretending the while to be in a profound sleep, which he feigned in order that he might attack the robber in the act of plunder. Considering that he was at least a match for a single native only armed with a knife, he forbore to awake his companion, who was still wrapped in profound slumber. Since the robbery already mentioned, he had nightly concealed his pistols under the mattress upon which he lay, so likewise had his companion

"The robber having minutely examined the pillows of either couch with so gentle a hand as would not have shaken the dew from a rosebud, and being persuaded that there were no arms under either, proceeded to the bed of the younger officer, and having satisfied himself that he continued asleep, commenced his operations of plunder with the deliberate skill of a practised pillager. His adroitness in his calling was not to be mistaken. Every lock was opened in a few seconds, so that there should be no occasion for halting after he once commenced operations. Having arranged

everything apparently to his satisfaction, he examined each article with great care, but without the slightest embarrassment, and then promptly making up his mind what was worth securing, he rapidly collected the approved moveables and placed them together in the centre of the tent. All this was done without the slightest noise ; their owner still feigning sleep and breathing laboriously in order the better to keep up the illusion. As soon as the bandit had made his selection, he took the palampore, or counterpane, from the couch nearest at hand, and spreading it open, deliberately placed the things upon it and tied them securely ready to carry off. He searched carefully for money, but was disappointed, as our travellers had taken care to place their rupees with their swords and pistols under the mattress of their beds. Though foiled in this particular, the man had collected sufficient plunder to provide for his wants for a full year to come. Having carefully looked over the trunks he made a sallam towards each couch, as if to thank its occupants for his easy success.

"Being now prepared to decamp with his booty, the robber took a towel, and, steeping it in the water-ewer, which was on a stand near the pole of the tent, pitched it dexterously into the glass globe containing the lamp. Fortunately, the globe being a very large one, the towel slipped down the side and escaped the wick, this being fixed in a high glass within the crystal receptacle. Nothing perplexed, the bandit took a second towel, and having soaked it with water as before, was in the act of throwing it upon the light, which, had he succeeded, would have secured his escape, when the captain who had by this time grasped his sabre, started suddenly from his couch and rushed upon the intruder. The man, not at all dismayed at being thus unexpectedly discovered, sprang behind the pole of the tent, grasping the knife with which he was armed, firmly in his right hand. The first stroke aimed at his head by a strong and active arm he adroitly parried gliding round the tent-pole, so as completely to baffle the efforts of his foe. At length the captain after many vain attempts to strike a successful blow, observing a favourable opportunity, struck impetuously at the intruder's neck, which the latter suddenly

depressed, when the stroke, dealt with a vigorous hand, fell on the pole which such violence that the blade of the avenger's sword snapt off at the hilt. He was now unarmed, though not at the mercy of his enemy, for without a moment's delay he cast the bladeless hilt from him, and attempted to seize the robber, who being oiled all over and quite naked, easily slipped from his grasp, and at the same moment striking him in the side with his knife, darted towards the opening through which he had entered. The captain though bleeding copiously, rushed after him, dashed off the fellow's turban, and seizing him by the hair, drew him backward into the tent. The bandit still grasped his knife, and, being extremely active, was quickly on his feet. His antagonist, though severely cut, laid his hand upon the murderous instrument, which the man instantly relinquished, and by a sudden movement again freed himself from the clutch of his excited enemy. Feeling himself free, he plunged through the opening, but his escape was arrested by a surer hand.

"The younger officer, having been awakened by the noise, had secured one of his pistols, and quitting his couch, discharged it at the robber just as the latter was in the act of effecting his escape. The bullet, true to the aim and purpose of him who directed it, struck the luckless wretch on the head, which it passed completely through, and he rolled backward in the fearful struggles of death. After a few frightful contortions, a spasm, and a groan, he expired. He proved to be, as had been previously concluded, the man who had shared the bullock drivers' hospitality, as already recorded. Upon examining the turban which lay on the tent-floor, the captain's gold watch, and the money of which he had taken charge, a hundred gold mohurs, was found curiously secreted between the folds, which sufficiently identified this with the former robber."

CHAPTER XIX

INDIAN JUGGLERS

"I was once in the presence of the emperor of Hindustan," says Ibn Batuta, "when two Yogeess, wrapt up in cloaks, with their heads covered, came in. The emperor caressed them, and said, pointing to me, 'This is a stranger ; show him what he was never yet seen.' They said, 'We will.' One of them then assumed the form of a cube, and rose from the earth, and in this cubic shape he occupied a place in the air over our heads. I was so much astonished and terrified at this that I fainted and fell to the earth. The emperor then ordered me some medicine which he had with him, and upon taking this, I recovered and sat up ; this cubic figure still remaining in the air just as it had been. His companion then took a sandal belonging to one of those who had come out with him, and struck it upon the ground, as if he had been angry. The sandal then ascended, until it become opposite in situation with the cube. It then struck it upon the neck, and the cube descended gradually to the earth, and at last rested in the place which it had left. The emperor then told me that the man who took the form of a cube was a disciple to the owner of the sandal ; and, continued he, 'Had I not entertained fears for the safety of thy intellect, I should have ordered them to show thee greater things than these.' From this, however, I took a palpitation at the heart, until the emperor ordered me a medicine, which restored me."

Some itinerant jugglers display tricks which it is almost impossible to solve. Amongst their many extraordinary tricks may be mentioned one which, though done in England and by Europeans in India by means of trap doors and hanging drapery on a stage, is exhibited by the Indian on the open roadway, and before any number of spectators in the light of day. We allude to the mysterious disappearance of an individual, either a boy or a girl. In an old paper of 1797, we find the following graphic description of the

puzzle : "A handsome young girl, covered with ornaments and dressed as a bride, is brought into the room by the conjuror. An open wicker-work basket, in size and shape resembling a beehive, is then produced ; the girl sits down on the floor in the centre of the room, and salaaming to all the company first, is then covered over by the basket. Over this the husband (the conjuror) flings a couple of sheets, so as to exclude her entirely from view ; a conversation then ensues between the juggler and the girl under the basket, in which the former accuses her of unfaithfulness, a reproach to which the girl at first replies indignantly ; gradually the man gets more and more excited, and holds forth threats, at which the frightened girl begins to remonstrate, and finally supplicates for mercy. The conjuror is however, by this time to all appearance wound up to a pitch of fury, and suddenly to the horror of the uninitiated portion of his spectators unsheathes his sword, and runs it through and through the basket in every direction : shrieks of alarm and pain, which gradually grow fainter and fainter, ensue ; the basket absolutely writhes, as though moved by the quivering touch of the murdered girl ; blood streams out from under the basket, the sword is bathed in gore, and a faint suffocating groan proclaimed to the spectators that the deed was done. The bloodstained murderer then coolly wipes the sword and returns it to the scabbard, and salaaming to the spectators tells them that he has been well avenged on his wife for her infidelity ; he then takes deliberately one sheet at a time, and shaking them well folds them up ; this done, he kicks over the basket and exposes to view—the floor of the room. No woman, nor child, nor blood, nor any trace of the occupant of the basket, is to be found. The juggler, who pretends to be as much astonished as any one else at the marvellous disappearance of his wife, calls imploringly on her to return. Luchmee, for so is the girl usually named, answers to the call, and the astounded spectators turn simultaneously to the door, where the assembled servants, who have been peeping in with silent awe, are seen speedily clearing a passage for some one, who they have not the slightest doubt must be a daughter of a *pishach*, (ghost), and the pretty little Luchmee comes running into the room,

all smiles and salaams, scatheless as any of the party present, and apparently much amused at the surprise depicted in every one's countenance."

Indian jugglers appear (in 1814) to have thought more of in England than they are now. A party of these, consisting of two men and a boy, were taken to England from Madras by the captain of the *Monarch*. They performed three times a day in Pall Mall, and their gains were for a single month of twenty-six days (excluding Sundays) not short of £1,638! The party after "doing" London, intended travelling all over the three kingdoms, where they hoped to net large profits. It appears that the *swallowing of swords* trick was what had taken the people of England by surprise.

Miss Eden relates the following about a Madras juggler:—"He did all the tricks the Indian jugglers do with balls and balancing, and swallowing a sword, &c., and then he spit fire in large flames, and put a little rice into the top of a basket or small tray, and shook it, and *before our eyes* a tiny handful of rice turned into a large quantity of cowrie shells. Then he made a little boy, who is one of my servants, sit down, and he put a small black pebble into his hand and apparently did nothing but wave a little *baguette* round his head, and forty rupees came tumbling out of the boy's little hands. He made him pick them up again, and hold them as tight as he could, and in an instant the rupees were all gone, and a large live frog jumped out."

Here is another trick, equally marvellous:—"One day Mr. Smyth told me that he expected to receive a visit from a native, an amateur conjuror, who would perform some amusing tricks. When he entered the room he spread a white cloth upon the floor, and sat down upon it with his back to the wall, the door of the room being on his right hand. His spectators were disposed in the following fashion: Mr. Smyth sat on a chair nearly in the middle of the room, I was sitting on a sofa near the door, the ~~Parsee~~ merchant stood in the doorway about an arm's length from me. The servants stood about in groups, the largest group being between the door and the conjuror.

As soon as he had settled himself, he turned to the Parsee and asked for the loan of a rupee. The pedlar at first demurred a little, but, on being guaranteed against loss, he produced the coin. He was going to put into the conjuror's hand, but the latter refused, and told the Parsee to hand it to Mr. Smyth's bearer. The bearer took it, and at the request of the conjuror, looked at it and declared it to be really a rupee. The conjuror then told him to hand it to his master. Mr. Smyth took it, and then followed this dialogue :—Conjuror : "Are you sure that is a rupee ?"—Smyth : "Yes."—Conjuror : "Close your hand on it and hold it tight. Now think of some country in Europe, but do not tell me your thought." Then the conjuror ran over the names of several countries, such as France, Germany, Russia, Turkey, and *America*—for the native of India is under the impression that America is in Europe. After a moment's pause Mr. Smyth said he had thought of a country. "Then open your hand," said the juggler, "see what you have got, and tell me if it is a coin of the country you thought of." It was a five-franc piece and Mr. Smyth had thought of France. He was going to hand the coin to the conjuror, but the latter said, "No, pass it to the other sahib." Mr. Smyth accordingly put the five-franc piece into my hand ; I looked closely at it, then shut my hand and thought of Russia. When I opened it I found, *not* a Russian but a *Turkish* silver piece about the size of the five-franc, or of our own crown piece. This I handed to Mr. Smyth, and suggested that he should name America, which he did, and found a Mexican dollar in his hand. The coin, whatever it was, had never been in the conjuror's hand from the time the rupee was borrowed from the Parsee merchant. Mr. Smyth and his bearer had both of them closely examined the rupee, and Mr. Smyth and I turned over several times the five-franc piece, the Turkish coin, and the dollar ; so the trick did not depend on reversible coin. Indeed it could not, for the coin underwent three changes, as has been seen. I need only add, for the information of those who know not India, that a rupee is only about the size of a florin, and therefore about half the weight of a five-franc piece."

On another occasion the same juggler is called upon to perform : —

"As before, he was seated on a white cloth, which this time I think was a table cloth, borrowed from the mess sergeant. He asked some one present to produce a rupee, and to lay it down at the remote edge of the cloth. The cloth being three or four yards in length, the conjuror could not have touched the coin without being seen, and, in fact, did not touch it. He then asked for a signet ring. Several were offered him, and he chose out one which had a very large oval seal, projecting well beyond the gold hoop on both sides. This ring he tossed and tumbled several times in his hands, now throwing it into the air and catching it, then shaking it between his clasped hands, all the time mumbling half articulate words in some Hindustanee *patois*. Then setting the ring down on the cloth at about half-arm's length in front of him, he said, slowly and distinctly in good Hindustanee, "Ring, rise up and go to the rupee." The ring rose, with the seal uppermost, and resting on the hoop, slowly, with a kind of dancing or jerking motion, it passed over the cloth until it came to where the rupee lay on the remote edge ; then it lay down on the coin. The conjuror then said, "Ring, lay hold of the rupee, and bring it to me." The projecting edge of the seal seemed to grapple the edge of the coin ; the ring and the rupee rose into a kind of wrestling attitude and with the same dancing and jerking motion, the two returned to within reach of the juggler's hand."

We shall only make mention of another performance which occurred at Fort William. It appeared to have a strong resemblance to the feats recorded in sacred history, as having been performed by the magicians of Egypt, in the time of Moses, and in the presence of Pharaoh. Indeed, as is well known that the Hindu tricks have been handed down from the most distant ages, from father to son, there is little wonder that such a similarity can exist. The particular trick alluded to, is the apparent conversion of a brass coin into a snake : — "The juggler gave me the coin to hold, and then seated himself, about five yards from me, on a small rug, from which he never attempted to move during the

whole performance. I showed the coin to several persons who were close beside me, on a form in front of the juggler. At a sign from him, I not only grasped the coin I held firmly in my right hand, but, crossing that hand with equal tightness with my left, I enclosed them both as firmly as I could between my knees. Of course I was positively certain that the small coin was within my double fists. The juggler then began a sort of incantation, accompanied by a monotonous and discordant kind of recitative, and, repeating the words, *Ram Sambhu*, during some minutes. He then suddenly stopped and, still keeping his seat, made a quick motion with his right hand, as if throwing something at me, giving at the same time a puff with his mouth. At that instant I felt my hands suddenly distend, and become partly open, while I experienced a sensation as if a cold ball of dough, or something equally soft, nasty, and disagreeable was now between my palms. I started to my feet in astonishment, also to the astonishment of others, and opening my hands, found there no coin, but to my horror and alarm (for of all created things I detest and loathe the genus), I saw a young snake, all alive—oh ! and of all snakes in the world, a cobra-di-capello, folded, or rather coiled, roundly up. I threw it instantly to the ground, trembling with rage and fear, as if already bitten by the deadly reptile, which began immediately to crawl along the ground, to the alarm and amazement of every one present. The juggler now got up for the first time since he had sat down, and catching hold of the snake displayed its length, which was nearly two feet—two feet all but an inch and-a-half. He then took it cautiously by the tail, and opening his own mouth to its widest extent, let the head of the snake drop into it, and deliberately commenced to swallow the animal, till the end of the tail only was visible : then making a sudden gulp, the whole of the snake was apparently swallowed. After this, he came up to the spectators, and opening his mouth wide, permitted us to look into his throat, but no snake or snake's tail was visible, it was seemingly down his throat altogether. During the remainder of the performance, we never saw this snake again, nor did the man profess his ability to make it re-appear ; but he performed another

snake-trick, which surprised us very much. He took from a bag another cobra-di-capello, and, walking into the centre of the room, enclosed it in his hands in a folded state. He waved, or shook them for some time in this condition, and then opened his fists, when, hey ! presto !—the snake was gone, and in its place appeared several small ones, which he suffered to fall from his hands, when they glided, with their peculiar undulating movement, almost like the waves of the sea, about the floor."

We reproduce the subjoined account of Hassan Khan and his performances, from a paper which some time since appeared in the columns of the *Englishman* :—

"One of his favourite tricks was to borrow a watch and transport it to some unthought of place and send the owner to find it. Being present at a select party at the house of a European gentleman then residing in Upper Circular Road, he politely asked a lady to give him her watch. After the usual by-play, in the view of all present, he flung the watch with force from an upper verandah into a tank in front of the house. Every one saw the watch, with the chain dangling, whisk through the air, and fall into the water. A short time after, the fair owner of the watch waxing impatient, he requested her to go into the next room and hold out her hand for it. She did so, and behold the watch and chain, both dripping wet, came into her hand. Among several others, a gentleman to be met with daily not fifty miles from St. John's Church, can attest the truth of what is here stated. At another time Hassan Khan was at the house of a gentleman whose watch he borrowed, and shortly after, when asked for its return, protested that he never took the watch and that his host had not brought it home, but left it within the desk of his office, which was situated in another street. The desk key was in the gentleman's pocket all the time, and yielding to Hassan Khan's challenge he drove over to his office at that hour of the night, had the room opened, and unlocking his desk found the watch quite safe inside. Another watch trick was played in a place of business in Dalhousie Square. He took a watch and a ring belonging to different owners and tied up the two with a handkerchief. After a while he pointed to a press, and

enquired if it was locked and who had the key. The owner produced the key from his pocket, the press was opened, and ring, watch and handkerchief found inside of it. There was another class of exhibitions in which, it is said, Hassan Khan loved to display his occult powers, whatever they may have been. Without any regard to time, place, or circumstances, he could at will produce a bag of sandwiches and cakes, or beer, wine, and brandy of any mark and quality required. He would not bring them forth from his person or with his own hands : but wherever he might be at the time, he would warn the company that it was approaching, when suddenly the bag or the bottle would become visible to the spectators, suspended in mid air, and one of them had to seize upon it. In every case the edible or potable was the best of its kind. Who or what this man was, has never been satisfactorily explained. He went about freely, was to be seen everywhere, and mixed with all sorts of people ; but he was always enshrouded in an impenetrable mystery."

CHAPTER XX

TRAVELLING IN INDIA

THE following are the rates of travelling by palkee dawk from Calcutta to the places noted, showing the high rate charged in those days,—a trip to Benares costing over seven hundred rupees :—

From Calcutta to	Miles.	Bearers.	With one Bangy.	Addition- al Bangy.	Total.
					R. A.
Chandernagore, Ghyretty	18 0	..	22 8	2 0	24 8
Chinsura, Hooghly, or					
Bansbarreah	34 0	...	42 8	3 12	46 4
Mirzapoor	55 7	56 0	70 0	6 0	76 0
Burrampoor	116 0				
Calcapoor	117 0				
Cossimbazar	116 2				
Moidapur	117 0	118 0	147 8	12 0	159 8
Moorshedabad	124 0				
Moraudbaug					
Sootie	153 6	154 0	192 8	15 8	208 0
Rajamahall	190 7	191 0	238 12	19 0	257 12
Boglepoor	263 0	263 0	328 12	26 0	354 12
Mongher	300 6	301 0	376 4	30 0	406 4
Patna	400 0	400 0	500 0	40 0	540 0
Bankipoor	400 0				
Dinapoor	410 0	410 0	512 8	41 0	553 8
Buxar	492 0	492 0	615 12	49 0	664 12
Benares	566 0	566 0	707 8	56 8	764 0

The Grand Trunk Road, which stretches from Calcutta to Lahore, was commenced in 1833, soon after the Act under which the post office is governed came into operation, but was of very inconsiderable length till some time after, when it was extended from Allahabad to Delhi and Meerut ; thus far it remained till 1852, when it was continued to Kurnal and Umballa in one direction ; and to Ferozepore and Lahore in the other.

It was a metalled or macadamised road, "smooth as a bowling green," and cost about £1000 a mile. Besides the halting grounds for troops, serais were erected at convenient intervals, and dawk bungalows established, where travellers

found board and lodging for man and beast. For the protection of the road guard-houses with two policemen at each were placed at every two miles.

The Government Bullock Train was commenced in October 1845, between Benares and Delhi, Meerut, Agra, &c. On the 1st of May, 1847, it was extended to Umballa. At the beginning of 1849 it was carried forward to Loodiana, and on the 1st of March 1850, to Jullunder and shortly after to Lahore.

The road from Calcutta to Barrackpore was opened to the public on the 26th July, 1805.

On the 22nd March, 1796, the Post-Master General publishes the rates of dawk travelling upon "the new road from Calcutta to Benares and Patna." These rates will appear strange to travellers of the present day, but such prevailed up to the year 1850, in April of which year the first horse dawk was established by Tunti Mull, afterwards Messrs. Greenway and Co., to run from Calcutta to Cawnpore. The palkee dawk rates were—

"From Calcutta to Benares . . . Sa. Rs. 500

From Calcutta to Patna , 400

And from the above to the intermediate stations on the new road, at the rate of one rupee two annas per mile or two rupees four annas per coss."

Mail carts were first brought into use by Mr. Smith of Meerut, between that station and Delhi. In November 1841, the Government followed the good example set, by having carts between Allyghur and Cawnpore. In March 1842, (or within five months) they were extended to Mynpoorie; in May of the same year to Allyghur. In January 1844 the system was carried on from Allyghur to Delhi, and from Allyghur to Meerut in February 1845. In May of that year Agra was admitted to its benefits; while in the following month this mode of conveying the mail was extended eastward between Benares and Allahabad. Before January 1846, the mail for Agra was brought upwards to Allyghur; in that month the acuteness of the angle was amazingly reduced by the establishment of a direct communication between Nowgong and Agra. The mail carts were next carried on to Saharunpore, then to

Umballa and Loodiana, subsequently to Lahore, Mooltan, &c., and at the same time downwards to Calcutta.

Somewhat before 1842, though travelling by palankeen dawk was the most general, some travellers preferred the palankeen carriage on the grand trunk road. These carriages were not horsed as they were afterwards, but drawn by coolies ; and dawk bungalows or rest houses were placed at every twenty miles on the road from Agra to Calcutta, at which the traveller found accomodation and attendance. A plain dish of fowl curry and rice, or perhaps a leg of mutton and potatoes were the only eatables obtainable ; necessities, such as tea, sugar, wine and bread the traveller was obliged to take with him, or obtain from some hospitable European neighboring resident.

It is wonderful in the present day to call to remembrance the liberal hospitality that was extended to travellers, though unaccompanied by letters of recommendation, and often perfect strangers to the residents on the line of route.

One writer, in 1843, states :—"Everywhere you find the most hearty welcome, and the most hospitable reception. The longer the guest is pleased to remain, the greater is the satisfaction which he gives to the host." Truly the hospitality of our ancestors must have been exercised to greater extent than it is at the present day.

The system of conveying passengers by palkee carriages and trucks was first established between Cawnpore and Allahabad in May, 1843, and extended to Allyghur in November of the same year ; Delhi was included in June 1845 ; Agra and Meerut about the same time ; the Now-gong line not being, however, ready till January 1846.

A writer gives the following description of dawk travelling in 1843 from Delhi to Agra, a distance of 137 miles, and for which he had to pay 140 rupees :—"I engaged eight bearers to carry my palankeen. Besides these I had four banghy burdars, men who are each obliged to carry forty pound weight, in small wooden or tin boxes, called petarrahs, with the help of a long bamboo resting on the shoulder, and two masalchies or torch bearers. From Delhi to

Agra there are twelve stages, the longest fourteen, the shortest ten miles.

An express acquaints the postmasters beforehand of the approach of travellers, so that the new bearers are always found ready. When we approached a new stage all the bearers set up a shrill cry to announce that they were coming. The torch bearer runs by the side of the palankeen, occasionally feeding his cotton torch with oil, which he carries with him in a wooden bottle, or a bamboo.

At every change of bearers the relieved men invariably petition for *bukshish*, and if they do not receive something the new men annoy the traveller by jolting him or doing their duty lazily. It may be easily conceived that travelling in this mode is not the most pleasant, however luxurious it may appear to be."

In March 1850, Tunti Mull, a wealthy native, who had for two years before run a carriage between Lucknow and Cawnpore, together with some European gentlemen, under the style of the Inland Transit Company, started horse carriage dawks from Calcutta to Cawnpore.

In the following year this company's operations extended to Meerut, Delhi and Agra. From Meerut another private company, carried on the communication, by means of two-wheeled springed carriages drawn by bullocks as far as Umballa; and thence at the close of 1851, another private company continued the transit by palankeen carriages drawn by bullocks up to Lahore.

Few, we fancy, look back with feelings of unmixed pleasure to a dawk gharree journey, in which the bumping and swinging of the carriage had never its monotony disturbed save by the bustle consequent on a change of ponies. Collisions, break-downs, jibbings, dust, heat or cold, were all experienced on a dawk journey, yet, despite the comforts of the rail, to the Indian traveller there is often a *soupcon* of regret for the old dawk gharree, when he takes his ticket and settles himself down in his railway carriage.

It is probably only a sentiment, the feeling of an old acquaintance—with whom possibly, we disagreed when he was with us—having passed away. But the old method of travelling had its advantages. Absolute punctuality was

not necessary ; the gharee came into your compound, was loaded up, and you took your seat at your own door when the impulse seized you, Did you wish to stay with a friend for an hour by the way, or break your journey by a rest in a road dawk bungalow, you were at liberty to do so. The dawk journey and that by railway presented similar points of difference to those existing between life in Europe and existence in Asia. The latter has many drawbacks, many shortcomings but it has also more freedom than has the former, and, therefore, it is, we say, that the Anglo Indian feels some regretful pang as he sees the old rumbling dawk gharrees going over slowly to the majority, and numbered with the "have beens."

In April 1850, "covered parcel vans," with accommodation for four passengers each, were started by the Government to run between Benares, Meerut, Agra, and Delhi.

Seven miles per hour was the rate of travelling and one anna a mile the charge for passengers. By means of this mode of transit the distance between Delhi and Benares (458 miles), was accomplished by a traveller in a comfortable carriage, in less than five days, for rupees 28 and 10 annas !

The subject of railway communication in India was first laid before the Supreme Government by Mr. Rowland Stepheson in 1843. In 1849, the Company engaged in a contract with the East India Railway Company for the construction of a line to the north-western provinces. The line from Calcutta to Raneegunge, a distance of 120 miles, was opened on the 3rd February, 1855. The line from Allahabad to Cawnpore was opened in the following year. Since which numerous lines have been opened. At the time when the mutiny broke out Cawnpore was the terminus. As it is not our province to notice events after the transfer of the Government from the East India Company to the Queen, or we might enter largely on this subject.

Lady Falkland witnessed the opening of the Bombay railway line, "at which Asia, stationary for thousands of years, was at last startled from its propriety. Thousands on thousands came to see that wonder of wonders. The

whistle of the engine as it dashed on its glorious course was thought to be the voice of a demon.

The bride riding to the temple, the corpse borne to the river or to the pile, were alike arrested by the spectacle. Only a fragment of the line was completed, extending a few miles from Bombay, but it was enough to indicate the beginning of a new era and the dawn of a mighty change. Even the wild beasts of the forest seemed to have a full perception of the good time coming ; and monkeys, jackals, and tigers, which had maintained their ground from the days of the flood, retreated before the rushing engine. But it struck down a still greater obstacle to civilisation, to progress, to moral and social advancement, in the old, radical, monster clog of caste. At their first meeting it wrenched from Juggernaut this gem of his crown. A noble of high caste wished to ride in a carriage by himself, but a railroad levels distinctions completely and finding his request would not be complied with, my Lord Pundit was obliged to sit check-by-jowl with a Weyd and a Bunjara. He was a fact from which we might draw a moral. The castes, it is clear, exist by our indulgence, by our avowed sanction. Let us withdraw the prop and the whole rotten edifice will tumble to the ground, and with its fall the long thralldom of the Hindoo mind will terminate."

When railways were originally talked about, one of the first questions of course asked was, will they pay ? The answer to that question chiefly turned on another. Will the native take to travelling by rail ? You can seldom tell what they will do, because so many motives influence them, which an Englishman really cannot comprehend. Dislike to whatever is new, suspicion, ignorance, caste prejudices,—all in turn exert a power which baffle every anticipation of one who simply reasons. The two great things to secure native traffic are fares so low that it would be cheaper to ride than to walk, and the careful avoidance of accidents.

Both these results have been secured. The third-class fare is less than a halfpenny a mile. Thousands of men from the upper provinces on their way to Calcutta soon learned that at Rancegunge there was this wonderful "Eng-

lish machine," which would carry them the remainder of their journey for one rupee fourteen annas.

Instead of travelling for five weary days on the road they would get to their journey's end in about seven hours, and all the while—delightful state to the Hindoo—do nothing but sit ! The cheapness and the ease combined afforded attractions which have made railway travelling decidedly popular wherever it exists. Happily, too, nothing has occurred to produce the suspicion that great danger prevails on railways. A single "dreadful accident" might have created a panic which for years would have operated most prejudicially ; but few accidents have occurred, and these have not been of an alarming nature.

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